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PREFACE

I am grateful to the Government of India and to Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Bombay, for kindly making contributions towards the publication of this volume. My thanks are due to Dr. B. P. Sinha for help I have received from him, and also to Father J. Barrett, S. J., Manager of Sanjivan Press, Patna, for bringing out the volume in time.

10th December, 1956

K. K. DATTA
Secretary

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONTENTS

	Page
Welcome Speech	
Shri H. V. Divatia	1
Inauguration Address	
Hon. Shri G. V. Mavalankar	8
Presidential Address	
Dr. N. P. Chakravarti	13
SECTION I (UPTO 711 A. D.)	
Presidential Address	
Dr. Moti Chandra	37
Nagara-Sreshthin	
Dr. D. G. Sircar	52
The Relations Between the Pratihara Rulers of Mandor and those of Broach	
Dr. Baij Nath Puri	56
State Communications and Despatches in Central Asia	
Shri R. C. Agrawala	60
Gujarra Rock Edict or a Newly Discovered Rock Edict of Asoka	
Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra	65
A Passage of the Eran Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta	
Dr. D. C. Sircar	72
The Gupta Phase at Nalanda	
Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray	78
Three Short Notes on Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription	
Dasharatha Sharma	83
Is The Bhamodra Mohotta Copper Plate of Drona-Sinha Spurious ?	
Jagan Nath Agrawal	87
The Original Home of Pushyamitra and the Extent of His Dominions	
Mrs. Bela Lahiri	88
Monumental Relics of Indo Aryan Temple Architecture in Cutch....	
Ravishankar N. Rao	92
A New Mandasor Stone Inscription	
Dr. H. V. Trivedi	94
A Further Note on the Indragarh Stone Inscription	
Dr. H. V. Trivedi	97

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PAGE

THE DATE OF PUSHYMITRA SUNGA
Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya 101

REMARKS ON 'APRATIGHA' COINS
B. P. Sinha 104

CAMPAIGNS OF GAUTAMIPUTRA SATAKARNI IN WESTERN DAKKAN
Dr. M. Rama Rao 110

NEW LIGHT ON THE GANGA ERA
Dr. R. C. Majumdar 114

THE INDUS CIVILISATION IN THE RIGVEDA
P. R. Deshmukh Yeotmal 115

A NOTE ON MALLASARUL CHARTER OF VIJAYASENA
B. Ch. Chhabra 122

A NOTE ON VASUNDHARA—THE DAUGHTER OF VIKRAMA
Dr. Umakanta P. Shah 124

THE KUMARA-VICEROY OF KALINGA UNDER ASOKA
Shri Amar Chand 125

THE DEVELOPMENT OF KA IN KHAROSTHI RECORDS
Dr. C. C. Das Gupta 126

HISTORICAL CHARACTERS IN THE MUDRARAKSASA OF VISAKHADATTA
Dr. Buddha Prakash 126

THE INDUS PEOPLE SPEAK
Swami Sankarananda 127

GATHASAPTASATI AND GATHAKOSA
Shri M. L. Mathur 127

A NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF THE HYDASPES
Dr. B. K. Majumdar 128

VISA-KANYA OR POISON-GIRL—AN INSTRUMENT OF POLITICAL MURDER
Dr. H. Vedantasastri 128

IDENTIFICATION OF MALAYA
Dr. H. Vedantasastri 128

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MATRIARCHAL SYSTEM IN KERALA
Dr. K. Kanakasabhapathy Pillay 129

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATIONAL AND MARRIAGE RITES ACCORDING TO JAIMINI GRHYASUTRA
Shri Radhakrishna Choudhry 130

REVISED DATING OF THE INDUS CIVILIZATION
Shri K. N. Sastri 130

VARAHAMIHIRA AND HIS SAKA KALA
Shri Kota Venkatachelam 130

A KAUTILYAN PASSAGE RE-EXAMINED
Shri Dilip Kumar Biswas 131

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INFLUENCE OF CLAY MODELLING ON THE ART OF BHARHUT
Dr. Kalyan Kumar Ganguli 131
MEDICINE IN ANCIENT INDIA
Dr. K. M. Choksey 131
WHEN DID DEMETRIUS INVADE INDIA ?
Shri Amarendra Nath Lahiri 132
DATE OF THE IMADPUR IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS OF MAHIPALA I
Dr. D. C. Sircar 132
VISHNUVARDHANA OF AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION FROM UNDAVALLI OF A. D. 1089
Shri B. S. L. Hanumantha Rau 133
A NOTE ON THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS
Shri G. H. Khare 133
NEW MATERIALS FOR THE CHAHAMANA HISTORY
Shri U. C. Bhattacharya 134
THE SO-CALLED TRIMURTI OF ELEPHANTA
Professor J. N. Banerjea 135
ITINERARY OF BAKHTIYAR KHALJI (1195-1206 A. D.)
Shrimati Sushila Mandal 135

SECTION II
(712-1206 A. D.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
Nihar-Ranjan Ray 139
INDRAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF RASHTRAKUTA NANNA
Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. V. V. Mirash 153
DATE OF THE IMADPUR IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS OF MAHIPALA I
Dr. D. C. Sircar 157
"VAISNAVITS GLEANINGS FROM THE MEDIAEVAL INSCRIPTIONS OF MARWAR"
R. C. Agrawala 162
A NOTE ON 'SAHAJA-SUHRT' (PRABODHACANDRODAYAM)
Shri Sisir Kumar Mitra 165
A NOTE ON VRATAS
S. R. Das 169
THE EARLY SURSEN DYNASTY OR THE EARLY PRATIHARS
Durga Prasad Sharma 169
THE PARAMOUNT POWER AND THE VASSAL STATE (7TH-12TH CENT. A. D.)
Prof. Bimala Prasad Mukerji 176
NEPAL IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY A. D.
S. K. Saraswati 185

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Fall of the Rashtrakutas
Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri 19
Barakar Temple No. 4
Shri Nirmal Kumar Bose 193
Origin of the Karnata Dynasty of Mithila
Shri Vijayakanta Mishra 195
Origin of the Candella Dynasty
Dr. Nemai Sadhan Bose 198
A Reference to King Adisura
Shri A. Thakur 204
A Few Chinese Travellers Visiting India During the Medieval Period
Prof. Prabhas Chandra Majumdar 205
The Origin and Development of the Matriarchal System In Kerala
Dr. K. K. Pillay 208
Merchant Guilds in Medieval Andhra
Shri R. Narasimharao 217

SECTION III
(1206-1525 A. D.)

Presidential Address
Prof. N. L. Ahmad 229
"Ramei Deo, The Founder of the Chouhan Dynasty In South Koshala"
Shri R. K. Misra 232
People and Politics in Mediaeval India (1206-1398 A. D.) A Short Summary
A. K. Sen 232
Marco Polo and His Contributions to the Knowledge of India
Professor Dr. George M. Moraes 233
New Light on Alauddin Khalji's Achievements from A Jain Book of 1336 A. D.
Dasharatha Sharma 240
Futuhu-S-Salatin (A Collation of its two Manuscripts)
Dr. Mahdi Husain 243
Importance of Sannigandla Inscription Dated A. D. 1318
Shri B. S. L. Hanumantha Rau 244
Sultan Quli Qutbu'l Mulk and his Supposed Assumption of Kingship
Prof. H. K. Sherwani 247

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A NOTE ON PRABODHA-CHANDRIKA OR DISCOVERY OF A NEW SANSKRIT GRAMMAR IN ORISSA
Prof. G. S. Das 251
JAUNPUR AS DESCRIBED IN VIDYAPATI'S 'KIRTILATA'
Prof. Radha Krishna Choudhary 254
TARIKH-I-SALATIN I GUJARAT : A STUDY OF ITS AUTHOR AND THE MANUSCRIPT
Shri Sayyid Akbar Ali 258
A NOTE ON TCHEOU TA-KOUAN : PA-SSUE-WEI
Kamaleswar Bhattacharya 259

SECTION IV
(1526-1764 A. D.)

OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE IN MARATHI
Prof. B. K. Apte 267
SOME ASPECTS OF MEWARI SCHOOL OF PAINTING, THE 16TH, 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES
Dr. G. N. Sharma 273
ABUL HASAN QUTB SHAH
Prof. Pratapgiri Ramamurti 279
KILAVAN SETUPATI AND FR. JOHN DE BRITTO
Sri S. Natarajan 288
A COPPER PLATE RECORD (MAHAJARNMA) OF 1756 A. D. IN BERAR
Shri D. B. Mahajan 292
THE BATTLE OF DODDERI FROM KANNADA SOURCES
Sri G. S. Dikshit 296
INDO-PERSIAN POLITICAL RELATIONS IN THE AGE OF THE GREAT MUGHALS
Prof. S. H. Askari 297
SOME LIGHT ON THE MANSABDARI SYSTEM OF THE MUGHALS
Shri Paresh Nath Mukherjee 298
THE SO-CALLED SANTAJI'S CHHATREE AT PUSHKAR
Shri S. B. L. Mathur 299
FUTUHU-S-SALATIN
Dr. Mahdi Husain 299
SOME MUHAMMADAN RITES AS OBSERVED DURING MUGHAL TIMES
Dr. P. N. Chopra 300

SECTION V
(From 1765 Onwards)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
Dr. S. N. Das Gupta 303

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S LAW COURTS IN THE OPENING YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
Dr. Nandalal Chatterji 315
THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PRESS AGAINST BRITISH RULE
Dr. K. L. Srivastava 318
INDO-PORTUGUESE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS DURING THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY
Dr. Hari Ranjan Ghosal 322
SADIQ-UL-AKHBAR OF DELHI
Shri K. Sajunlal 327
SOME RECORDS ON THE EARLY-BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE TRIBUTARY MAHALS IN ORISSA
Shri P. Mukherjee 332
HAIDAR ALI AND TIRUCHIRAPPALLI (1781)
Dr. T. V. Mahalingam 336
GHADR REBELLION IN THE PUNJAB 1913-1915
Shri Kirpal Singh 339
A STUDY OF THE ATTEMPTS FOR INDO-TURKISH COLLABORATION AGAINST THE BRITISH
Shri Queyam Uddin Ahmad 346
THE FORWARD POLICY
Prof. Dilip Kumar Ghose 350
AN ANTI-BRITISH PLOT IN BIHAR IN 1845-46
Dr. Kalikinkar Datta 356
THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BEARING OF CRIMINAL TRIALS IN FRENCH INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mitra 359
NIZAM-TIPU RELATIONS DURING 1787-1789
Shri B. Sheik Ali 364
MINT IN THE KINGDOM OF THE NAGPUR BHONSLAS
Dr. R. M. Sinha 368
THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE FRENCH IN INDIA
Shri Ambika Sharma 374
ABBF J. A. DUBOIS ON INDIA AND HER PEOPLE (REFERENCES TO THE TELGU PEOPLE)
Shri Y. Vittal Rao 379
AKBAR SHAH II (1760-1837)
Shri Krishan Lal Sachdeva 379
FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN ASSAM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
Shri K. N. Dutt 379
THE FRENCH FACTORY AT SURAT, 1765-1794
Dr. S. P. Sen 380

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FROM 1813-1836
Shrimati Arati Das Gupta 380
AUSTRO-GERMAN EAST INDIA COMPANY
Severine Silva 381
LOCAL DISTURBANCES IN THE EARLY PERIOD OF BRITISH RULE IN BENGAL AND BIHAR
Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri 381
DURGABAI BHOSALE OF SAVANTWADI
Shri S. N. Joshi 381
WAS THERE MONETARY GAIN IN SADASHIV RAO BHAU'S FIRST EXPEDITION ?
Shri V. G. Khobrekar 382
INDIGO PLANTATION IN BENGAL—ITS SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EFFECTS
Shri Amalendu De 382

SECTION VI
(Local)

A NOTE ON THE SOURCES OF GUJARAT HISTORY
Shri Z. A. Desai 385
AN UNPUBLISHED GUJARATI DOCUMENT OF VIKRAMA SAMVAT 1848
Dr. M. R. Majumdar 390
RELATION OF MAUKAN, FOUNDER OF THE KADAMBA KINGDOM WITH GUJARAT
Shri K. B. Dave 390
A FEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS AROUND VALAM IN THE VISNAGAR TALUK, MEHSANA DISTRICT
Shri R. N. Mehta 390
GANGADASAPRATAPAVILASA BY GANGADHARA
Dr. B. J. Sandesara 391
THE DEITY OF SOMANATHA (1026 A. D.)
Dr. M. L. Roy Choudhury 391
THE RISE OF THE RASHTRAKUTA RULE IN GUJARAT
Dr. H. G. Shastri 391
A NOTE ON COPPER PLATES OF BHIMDEVA I
Shri J. M. Nanavati 392
THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE REGISTRATION DEPARTMENTS DURING MUSLIM RULE IN GUJARAT
Qazi S. N. Husain 393
APPENDICES 395

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

WELCOME SPEECH

SHRI H. V. DIVATIA

MR. PRESIDENT, SHRI MAVALANKAR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

IT gives me much pleasure in extending a cordial welcome to all the learned and eminent historians and students of History who have assembled here as delegates as well as visitors to the 17th Session of the Indian History Congress. This is the first occasion when this Congress meets in Gujarat, and it is indeed appropriate that its first session in Gujarat should be held in the City of Ahmedabad, which is its metropolis and cultural centre. It meets under the auspices of the Gujarat University, the Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā and the Ahmedabad Education Society. As the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University and as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is my pleasant duty to welcome you all to our City.

Gujarat, which linguistically and culturally includes Saurashtra and Cutch, affords an ample field for research in Indian History. The region of Saurashtra is wellknown as the residence of Shri Krishna and the Yadavas and the whole coast from Dwarka to Somnath Patan is full of places for pilgrimage connected with the life of Shri Krishna. In historical times, Saurashtra was the western-most extremity of the Mauryan Empire of Ashoka and the rock edicts of that Emperor which date from c. 261-60 B. C. are the landmarks of the history of that glorious Empire.

Thereafter the kingdom of Maitrakas of Valabhipur was one of the most wellknown cultural centres in the whole of India, where Jainism, Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism flourished side by side under the patronage of its rulers. It had one of the most ancient Universities in India which was visited by scholars from all parts of our country and even remote China. The migration of a large number of tribes from Northern India and Sindh to Cutch and Saurashtra resulted in the setting up of numerous small states during the turbulent times which followed the downfall of the Valabhipur Kingdom. At about the same time the Gurjars who had their capital in Bhinnamal, also known as Shrimal, situated at about fifty miles to the west of Abu, migrated in large numbers in Gujarat which had several dynasties of Rajput rulers. Anahilvad Patan became the capital of Gujarat and its glory reached far into the South as well as towards the East upto Malva. With the conquest of Gujarat by the Muslims at the end of the Vaghela rule, the capital was shifted to this City, which was founded in 1411. It may not have the privilege of being one of the very ancient cities of India, but it can be modestly claim-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

fusion attendant on the raids of Mahomud of Ghazni, the recovery was quick and the first two centuries of the second millennium, marked by comparative peace and relative material prosperity in the west under the stable rule of the Solankis and the flourishing commerce with foreign lands, witnessed the creations of a remarkable school of religious architecture in Gujarat and in the neighbouring lands. Nature and man have wrought havoc on the finest buildings of the period, but enough remains to attest the external richness and inward feeling for form and purpose characteristic of Solanki temples, which are as notable for their structural efficiency as for their aesthetic quality. The structures are both Jaina and Hindu, and in the early thirteenth century the two celebrated brothers Vastupala and Tejpala who have been called the 'Indian Medicis' used their power and resources for encouraging the arts of Gujarat. The Solanki temples as a whole however were the creation not of a small group of men but of the entire community moved to take an abiding personal interest in their construction, each person according to his capacity. This becomes clear from the inscriptions of the time which mention imposts willingly paid and earmarked for the purpose. The professional masons known as "Shilavats" or "Salats" who worked by text book rules of which they had a mastery, readily changed the application of their artistic tradition from temples to mosques when their country passed under Muslim rule."

It will thus be seen that under the Muslim rule artisans employed in building mosques and minarets were mostly Hindus who created a new composite style of architecture which is so superb and delicate that Briggs and Burgess, Fergusson and Marshall have gone into raptures for its artistic excellence. You can see it in some of the artistic gems of this city, such as the windows of the Sidi Syed Mosque at Laldarwaja, and Rani Rupmati and Sipri's Mosques, the shaking minarets, at Gomtipur, the Kankaria Lake, The Shah Alam Mosque, Dada Hari's step-well and even the bird-roots (Parabadis) in the various parts of the city. This style of Art is one more example of the absorption of outside influence while retaining the indigenous art. Another example of this spirit of harmony ought to be noted here. The practical and commonsense mentality of the people of Gujarat has developed side by side with their intellectual pursuits. Our religion has grown on a mental soil which has been favourable for the development of a deep devotional mentality and tolerance for all religious faiths which directly appeal to our hearts. Our literature, our sculpture, our music, our paintings have all progressed in this direction promoting harmony and sweet softness in all walks of life. We have written our poetry not only on paper but we have symbolised it on the stones and marbles of the sculpture and architecture of our temples as you can see it in Seth Hathisingh's temple, Swaminarayan Temple and a number of other buildings and even residential houses in the city. As a result of devotional

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

sampradāyas of Hindu religion such as the Vaishnava Sect of Shri Vallabhāchārya, and the Swāmīnārāyan Sect of Shri Sahjānanda Swāmī have not prospered anywhere, so much as in Gujarat. Even Jainism has taken a more devotional aspect in Gujarat than in any other parts of India. And the most remarkable feature of this peculiarity is that all these have been professed side by side in the same family. Indeed, the mutual respect between the various religious faiths was so great that it was not uncommon to find different persons of the same family living in the same house professing either Jainism, Vaishnavism or Shaivism.

Gujarat has produced historians from the early days of Hindu Rule. 'Kanhadade Prabandha', 'Prabandha Chintamani', 'Kīrti Kaumudi' and several other works contain a historical account of the several Hindu Dynasties which ruled Gujarat.

I must mention here the great contribution made by Muslim divines and scholars in the field of history during the Muslim rule. Maulvi Sikandar bin Mohammad wrote in the year 1617 A. D. history of Gujarat called 'Mirat-e-Sikandari' which covers the period from the reign of Firozshah Tughluq upto the reign of Akbar the Great. Thereafter Ali Mohammad Khan wrote in the year 1762 A. D. a detailed history covering the subsequent period upto the Maratha rule. These two volumes contain a wealth of information about the political and administrative history of Gujarat during the Muslim rule. After the British rule historical research is being continued by several insitutions such as Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā, Gujarat Vidyā Pīth, Gujarat Sāhitya Parishad and Gujarat Sāhitya Sabhā of Ahmedabad; Forbes Gujarati Sabhā, Bhāratīya Vidya Bhavan and the Gujarat Research Society of Bombay, the Saurashtra Sanshodhak Mandal of Rajkot, and the Oriental Institute of the Baroda University. All these institutions have collected and are still collecting valuable material for an authentic and comprehensive history of Gujarat. The Gujarat University which is now five years old, hopes to get such history written and published with the cooperation of all Institutions and the scholars interested in this subject.

I hope I have said enough to convince you that the genius of Gujarat is not confined to the domain of trade and industry. Commercial enterprise and devotional religion which has influenced its arts and literature have lived together in the social life of this province. Harmony in the midst of diversity has always remained the guiding inspiration of Gujarati life. It is true that it has not fostered a militant and aggressive spirit but it has favoured its people with compensatory advantages. However hard a Gujarati may be in driving a business bargain, he is tender at heart in his feelings for the wants and sufferings of others. The Jain spirit of Ahimsā and the deep devotion of Vaishnavism have for centuries permeated the life of Gujarat to such an extent that they ceased to remain as abstract

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

qualities of mind but ultimately flowered in an incarnation in one of the greatest personalities in the history of humanity. Gandhiji was the embodiment of all that is the best in our Indian culture but that he was born in Gujarat is not without significance. His uncompromising insistence on non-violence, his sublime faith in God, his practical and sagacious handling of the most baffling problems of our country, his intuitive, almost uncanny knowledge of human nature—all these qualities cannot be found together in the mind of any one man however great he may be, but in Mahatma Gandhi, partly inherited and partly acquired as they were, they combined to form an extraordinary synthesis between idealism and realism, between passive resistence and active revolt. His practical idealism assisted as it was by the robust realism of Sardar Patel brought about a successful bloodless revolution which will remain unparalleled in the history of the world.

It was the great good fortune of this city that Gandhiji made it his home for about fifteen years when he returned to India and thus put its name with the Sabarmati Ashrama on the map of the world. The industrial progress of Ahmedabad had begun to outrun its cultural activities. Gandhiji revived our Indian culture by founding the well known Gujrat Vidyā-pīth with the Gujarat Purātatva Mandir as its integral part. It attracted eminent scholars and educationists from India and enriched the cultural life of this city. This age of renaissance which thus began in Ahmedabad has given birth to several institutions for the promotion of learning and research. The Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā which is one of the conveners of this Conference, and the oldest cultural institution in modern Gujarat —105 years old—has established a department of teaching and research in Indological studies known as the Seth Bholabhai Jesingbhai Institute of Learning and Research. The mill agents and other rich persons of Ahmedabad have donated nearly two crores of rupees for the development of higher education and this generous help has enabled the Ahmedabad Education Society to conduct five colleges in the City, under the wise guidance of Shri Mavalankar, Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Shri Amritlal Hargovandas and several other leading persons of the City.

It is this City, full of historical interest and ancient monuments, where the Indian History Congress meets for the first time in Gujarat. I may confidently hope that this event will be doubly advantageous, to you all who have come from different parts of India to see for yourselves the historical glories of Gujarat, and to us all who live here to receive a stimulus from this gathering of eminent historians for taking more intensive interest in the history of our Country.

It is an unfortunate circumstance that in recent years the study of Economics, Politics and Sociology have greater attraction for students

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

than that of History, with the result that we have fewer experts on the latter subject although there is a large untapped field for historical study and research. This is, I think, partly due to the fact that there is a greater chance for remunerative employment in those other subjects, and partly to the fact that many students find history a dull subject in which they have to tax their memory more than their intelligence. That again is porably due to the manner in which history is being taught in our schools and colleges. There is a great scope for improvement in that direction. The teaching of history can be made more attractive by making it as illustrative of the underlying currents of political, social and cultural evolution of a country and by tracing their causes from the tangled web of multifarious events. The real study of history is not that of events but of the soul of a community as it unfolds itself through these events. 'What' has happened in the past is not so important as 'why' and 'how' it has happened, and that takes us to the philosophy of history not merely of one country but of humanity as a whole. The study of the history of one country, should lead us to comparative history, which in turn should take us to the laws underlying the evolution of human institutions. But even though the number of experts in the historical field may not be so large as in the other social studies, that defect may be more than compensated by producing scholars, even though they may be comparatively few, with intensive study and with a historical sense and perspective. One great disederatum of a good historian is an objective outlook. Many a historical treatise is spoiled by a pre-possessed or a prejudiced mind. In India, we have suffered on account of both these defects which have twisted history either for glorification or vilification. It is true that no historian can completely succeed in eliminating the subjective element while writing a historical treatise, but unconscious colouring of events is less reprehensible than a purposeful departure from truth for an ulterior object. An objective and authentic history of India is our greatest need at present. We have a number of published histories in which succeeding historians have sought to demolish the arguments as well as the facts of previous historians and the reader is left bewildered in trying to understand the truths of historical events. It is indeed gratifying that our government is fully alive to the need of such an authentic history of our country. And it is the duty of all our scholars to cooperate in this much desired and long-awaited project.

Once more, I welcome you all in our City and hope that this Session will take us further in the progressive march of our country in the field of historical studies and research.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INAUGURATION ADDRESS

HON. SHRI G. V. MAVALANKAR

FRIENDS,

I naturally feel nervous because of the consciousness that I am standing before a distinguished gathering of learned men who have been lifelong students of History. One may be easily and perhaps even justifiably inclined to say that it is presumptuous on the part of a layman like me to speak about History to historians. Curious though it may appear, I feel justified on no other ground save that of my interest in the subject and my desire to come in touch with learned savants of history gathered here today, and to request them to make lay people like me appreciate as to how history is going to help the cause of progress in our country. I do not think this practical approach of mine in respect of research and study of history is in any antagonistic or in conflict with the pure truth-seeking ideal of knowledge. Knowledge for its own sake is undoubtedly the ideal, but it could become so only because of its intrinsic value for the advance of the human race.

2. When we speak of pursuit of knowledge for its own sake what we really mean is that those who pursue the acquisition and advance of learning should not expect any direct material benefit, consequent upon their labours for acquisition of knowledge and research. They should feel an impersonal urge for knowledge in the faith that, all knowledge must ultimately result in the good and progress of society.

3. Everyone of us is familiar with some kind of history from our childhood, though it is not history in the sense in which we pursue it as a subject of advanced study; but there is also a purpose and there are some grains of history even in what may be called very fantastic stories of the old books of mythology. But even what is considered mythology and fantastic is not such as should be thrown away as some ebullition of imagination. We must try to shift all available materials and construct there-from the history of the advance of human races as also the fusions of their cultures.

4. But the main question is what is history? What is its purpose? How it should be conceived, constructed and written? What is the good of stating and recording events in the lives of men or nations? Are they written or to be written merely for the pleasure of remembering the old days or is there any further purpose and utility? All these questions have to be satisfactorily answered, before laymen can be invited to concentrate their efforts not only on the study of history as it obtains but on the re-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

search in history and on the re-writing truthful history of the past, not of one nation, but of every nation in the world. This is more vitally so at the present time, when the world has become smaller because of faster means of communication and because all human races of the world have, as it were, come very close to one another.

5. Let us look at the matter from a different angle. We wish to attain world-peace. I for one have come to believe more and more that the idea of world-peace can be achieved by better understanding of each other, by men in different parts of the world. The process may be long, but it will be a sure process. No manner of treaties or pacts for disarmament, non-exploitation etc. will help us in the achievement of our final objective. Only by realising that men all over the globe are the same, belong to the same family of creation, have the same rights and obligations against each other and the good of each is closely interwoven with the good of every other that we can establish peace. It is only when the world progresses towards this realisation and understanding that we may expect to have real and lasting peace.

6. How best can it be achieved? To my mind, history is the best agent in the education of man in all countries to achieve a state of peaceful society. It may appear an exaggeration at present, but so long society does not organise education of history on proper lines, it will not be possible to achieve universal peace.

7. This leads to the question as to what we mean by history and how and from what point of view it is to be written. At present history is, generally associated with political activities of groups of men called nations with acquisition by individuals or nations, of territories or with sway or domination over other people. Stories of expeditions led by strong men over other countries, the acquisition of wealth by such expeditions, the empires built up, monuments erected, commemorating, in one aspect, the bravery and the conquest by one, but in the other aspect the slavery and the abjectness of others, are considered history.

8. The natural result has been that humanity is kept divided by all sorts of complexes—pride, hatred etc.—and there has been a perpetual opposition and conflict of one against the other in some form. Time has come when we must create a sense of homogeneity, solidarity and oneness of the human family. History has therefore now the main function of recording all aspects of human life, not only the political aspect, but also economic, social, ethical, religious etc., which will bring out how the progress of world towards civilisation has been contributed to by every different nation and race; in other words, history of the co-operation of humanity in various parts of the globe, in various times has to be truthfully conceived, researched and written, so as to inculcate ultimately upon the minds of men that all men are equal not only in the eyes of God, but also in their contri-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

bution to human progress. It may be that some might have contributed ever so little. That does not make a difference in substance. The point is of having contributed towards the march of progress of the human family in the world. This is a great task that now lies ahead of the historians of today.

9. Inspite of occasional disturbances there is a continuity in every group of human society. However different each group might have been in the olden times, and whatever its progress, it never changes its roots, of which it grows further. A study, therefore, of every aspect of the life out of any group in society is essential for a complete and full understanding about the way of life and philosophy that we see extant in that group. The historian thus helps substantially in enabling us to understand and see the complete picture about the past and the growth of society to its present condition or level.

10. In knowing the roots of the conditions that existed in the past, in order to be able to get to the roots of our present, one has to ask the question how things were; the answer to which was 'it was like this indeed" 'Iti-ha-āsa.' In fact, that part of our consciousness which stored, so to say the past moments or rather past experiences was called Smriti and the distinction between Smriti and Anubhava—present experience—was clearly made by the Dārśanikas of our country.

11. The Yoga thinkers of our country gave to consciousness, the metaphor of a river and used the term 'Chittanadī' to describe it. This clearly suggested that the present moment of consciousness is continuous with its past moments and that it is the sum total of the past moments and also something new. What holds good in the case of an individual holds good, in a way, in the case of people as a whole or society which they constitute. Thus it is well said that History is the Smriti of the race. This relationship of the present with the past or the way in which the past informs the present makes history an indispensable educational pursuit. History is a logical activity of the human mind directed towards discovering the truth regarding the past of a person, or a group. The ancient logicians of this country regarded 'Aitihya' as one of the eight 'pramāṇas' or 'means of valid knowledge.'

12. Sometimes, a charge is laid against us that we lack historical sense. In a sense we have to accept the charge, but if it means that our ancient thinkers did not know how to benefit by past events and experiences, then it is wholly incorrect. In fact, one may say that because they directed their attention so much on the lesson to be learnt that they neglected the actual events which impressed the lesson on them. They were, it seems, more concerned with the wisdom than with the facts. In this sense, Mahābhārata was an Itihāsa for them; though no modern student would call it a work of history. Consider, however, what Prof. Toynbee says about Homer's Iliad:—

"It has been said of the Iliad that anyone who starts reading it as his-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tory will find that it is full of fiction, but equally anyone who starts reading it as fiction will find that it is full of history."

13. Does not this remark apply with equal force to Mahābhārata ? But Mahābhārata like Iliad, however, would be relegated by modern historians to the domain of mythology. History, however, as Prof. Toynbee says: "grew out of mythology, a primitive form of apprehension and expression in which the line between fact and fiction is left undrawn." But, in order that the Itihāsa of old shrouded in mythology may become history, this line between fact and fiction has to be drawn, and that is what we have to learn from our European teachers.

14. A historian has therefore to undertake the very difficult and heavy task of finding the Truth. He must know how to appreciate the mass of material from which to call out true and relevant facts to construct history. Though his business is to find out facts as a judge, he is also to be imaginative, as he is to present not merely a skeleton of bones but a figure in flesh, blood and muscle which is a true picture of the times with which he deals. He has to write in such a manner that the society whose history he is presenting is pictured truly, properly and attractively to the reader of history. He must not swerve from statements of truth and truth alone. He has also to be a poet in the sense that he should have a literary style and a language which will arrest attention and make his presentation of history a very pleasant reading to the laymen. His activity has to be synthetic and interpretative and his ideal has to be a search for Truth.

15. A comprehensive history in the sense in which I am visualising it is yet to be written in respect of our people. We have to separate fact from fiction as also construct a true and full picture of our ancient times from such materials as we find in our historical and ancient monuments, edicts, and other material of past centuries. In this field of writing such comprehensive history, I feel the work can never be completed as new material is bound to come to light from time to time requiring a change or a revision in the history already written. Even in the matter of recent histories, we find that a good many changes are necessary in the histories written upto now because of new sources of information being made available as time goes on. The writing of a comprehensive history of India is therefore a continuous process and will remain so for a long time. The task requires patient and laborious work and I feel sure that an organisation like the Indian History Congress will be able to produce a comprehensive history of India as a result of other co-ordinated efforts, scientific study and research of Indian History by the members of the distinguished gathering that is meeting today.

16. I wish your efforts and deliberations every success.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

17. On the occasion of this learned congregation, an exhibition bearing on the History and culture of Gujarat including Saurashtra and Kutch would not be out of place. Modest though it is, it is significant in itself. I also declare this exhibition open.

Once again I wish the Conference a success.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D. (CANTAB.), F.A.S.

I AM very grateful to my colleagues for electing me the President of the 17th Session of the Indian History Congress at Ahmedabad, an honour I deeply appreciate.

Indian Historical studies, particularly of Ancient India, have progressed much during the last three decades. With the discovery of the remains of the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, Indian History and civilization has taken a place of honour among the oldest civilizations of the world. Thanks to these and other discoveries, while on the one hand our knowledge has increased to a very great extent, on the other, fresh problems have arisen which need clarification. This is not only true of the proto-historic period, but is equally true of the historic period for which we possess written sources supplemented by archaeology. Some of the problems have been solved, but there are many others, some major and others minor, which still baffle us and I propose to lay before you some of them. It is not my intention to offer solutions for them, not because I would not like to do so, but because in the present state of our knowledge satisfactory solutions are not possible. My remarks will, therefore, be only in the nature of a stock-taking of the incomplete evidence we possess to-day, but before doing so I would like to remind you that I am an archaeologist and an epigraphist by training and profession, and I ask your forgiveness if I look at things from these angles. This does not mean that I do not appreciate the points of view of others. We may differ in our opinions but we must not forget that we are all working with the same end in view, namely, to arrive at the truth. Our aim is the same, though our approach may be different. For the history of ancient India our material is scanty, and even what we have needs careful consideration before can we reach definite conclusions.

Here I shall not say anything about pre-history which starts with the appearance of man on earth. But it is at the same time a relative term. In certain cases it may go back to thousands of years and in certain others only a thousand years or so B.C. as we have found from our experience in India and yet, in others it may only go back to a few centuries.

Now coming to the Harappa civilization, archaeologists have arrived at its date primarily by its contact with the proto-historic cities of Mesopotamia, which on archaeological and other grounds are stated to have flourished in the second half of the third and the earlier centuries of the second

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

millennium B.C. The principal evidence for this is a number of seals in Harappa style as well as some beads and pottery discovered at different sites in that area. Sir Mortimer Wheeler in his recent work on the 'Indus Civilization' published as a supplementary volume of the "Cambridge History of India", puts the date as 2300—1500 B.C. approximately. According to him the Aryans were responsible for the destruction of these two cities. This question, however, is closely connected with the age of the Rigveda and the advent of the Aryans into India. The date of the Rigveda has been a vexed question for over three quarter of a century. Opinions differ not to the extent of centuries but of millenniums. These dates ordinarily range between 3,000 to 1,000 B.C. except for the protagonists of the astronomical theories like Tilak and Jacobi who went to a period much earlier. The only point that is certain is that the entire Vedic literature was completed before the rise of Jainism and Buddhism in India. At the same time this does not help us very much as it takes us only to 600—500 B.C., and it must have taken several centuries to reach the stage in which we find it at the time of Mahāvīra or Gautama Buddha. Towards the end of the first decade of the present century many thought that the controversy over this question was satisfactorily solved by the discovery made by Hugo Winkler at Boghazkoi in Asia Minor in the Hittite archives, of clay tablets in which was found a record of treaties concluded between the Hittite Kings and the rulers of Mitani in about 1400 B.C. In this record among the Mitani gods were found four names which have been universally accepted as those of Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the twin gods Nāsatyas. In the same archives also were found four tablets containing a treatise on the training and acclimatization of horses by a certain Kikkuli of Mitani, which uses certain terms connected with chariot racing which are akin to Sanskrit, such as *eka-vartana*, *tri-vartana*, etc. Unfortunately, no texts written in Mitani language have so far been discovered but these few examples provide us with ample evidence that the language of at least the ruling class in Mitani was Indo-Aryan. The solution would have been easy if we could accept the theory propounded by scholars like Edward Meyer, Peter Giles and Oldenburg that these gods belonged to some Western Aryan tribe and were inherited by them and the Indian Aryans from a common source. But as Jacobi, Konow and Hillebrandt pointed out, these are typically Vedic Aryan deities and it is not possible to hold any other view. In that case if we assume that there had been isolated Aryan migration back to the west, we have to accept the possibility that the Aryans had been settled on Indian soil for a long time before such migration could take place. To adduce a definite proof in support of this theory is therefore fraught with difficulties. Archaeologists, on the other hand, are unanimously of the opinion that the Harappa civilization must have been pre-Aryan, and if their dating of the lower limit of this culture

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is correct, it has to be admitted that Mitani was a point of contact during the migration of the Aryans who ultimately became masters of the Indus region after defeating the indigenous people. But again, who these people were and where they came from originally, is not certain. According to some they also came at an earlier period, from the Mediterranean region. According to others, they were Dravidians coming from the west, and yet according to others they were Dravidians but originating in India. The theory propounded by Hrozny, a Czechoslovakian scholar, who made his name for the first time by pointing out that the language found in the Hittite tablets was of Indo-European origin, is even more startling. According to him on the evidence supplied by the seals and amulets in the light of his own decipherment, the Indus people were a mixed nation of hieroglyphic Hittites, Hurrian, Sumero-Babylonian and Proto-Aryan who, starting from Eastern Asia Minor, Northern Syria and North-Western Mesopotamia invaded the fertile Indus Valley and took possession of it in the last half of the 2nd millennium B.C. This nation brought with it the first elements of writing from Northern Syria and developed an independent script based on them. He even goes farther and tries to build up a picture of what happened afterwards. "Both the cities", says he, "and with them the Proto-Indian culture, were destroyed during an invasion of a foreign people coming from North-Western India about 2000 B.C. The proud and rich Proto-Indian cities and economic centres of the caravan routes coming from the west were uprooted and their population, as the find of corpses proves, was mercilessly massacred. The cities were not resettled for some millenniums. The invaders who were responsible for the destruction of the ancient Indian culture were probably the Dravidians, whose insignificant remnants have survived in the Brahui population settled in the mountains of Baluchistan. From where these Dravidians came to India it is difficult to say though it was probably from the north-west."

Between 2000—1500 B.C. these Dravidians, according to him, got mixed with the remnants of the ancient Proto-Indians and dominated over North-Western India until that part of the country suffered from a second invasion, this time from the Vedic-Indians and their branches including the Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian Mitani. I have referred to Hrozny's theory for two reasons: (1) though he has been severely criticised by many western scholars of early culture, I have not found any reference to his theories made by scholars in India; (2) when he put forward his theory of the Indo-European origin of the Hittite language, it was criticized equally severely at the beginning but later it proved to be true. Of course, there are many points in his theory which cannot be substantiated or have to be modified on the basis of fresh evidence supplied by our recent excavations. But in fairness to the Professor, we must point out that he himself says that his conclusions are drawn with 'explicit reserve'.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Now to come back to the Dravidians. The question of the contribution of their culture to that of India has been engaging the attention of many other scholars also for sometime past. It is no longer believed that the Dravidian speeches have always been confined to South India and a small area in Baluchistan. The latest researches have shown that in ancient times Dravidian was wide spread in other parts of India also. This evidence is supplied by many place-names in northern India and the presence of a strong Dravidian element in the Aryan language from the Vedas downwards, and the undeniable Dravidian influence on the cultural history of India in almost every branch. Some scholars have tried to trace this influence even beyond the borders of India. In the early years of the present century, Torp pointed out certain similarities between Etruscan and Dravidian. In 1927, A. Clemens Shoener in his 'Alt-dravidisches, Eine namenskundliche untersuchung', tried to prove that many place-names not only in Iran, but also in Europe had to be connected with Dravidian languages, though his theory did not receive universal acceptance. Recently, Heinz Mode in his 'Indische Fruehkulturen' has tried to prove that the art-forms found on the ceramics of Crete and India are inter-related with a cultural centre existing in Syria and Mesopotamia towards the end of the fourth millennium B.C., which according to him, preceded not only the Indo-Aryan and the Semitic cultures, but also the Sumerian culture. It has also been known that some of the deities, such as the Mother Goddess and Śiva among others, had their origin in pre-Aryan culture. Recently, Prof. Kirfel in his 'Die dreikoepfige Gottheit' has shown that the conception of a three-headed god had a very wide distribution among the Mediterranean races. In the International Congress of Orientalists held in Cambridge this year, L. Homburger in her paper on 'Dravidian elements in Egypt and Africa' has drawn attention to a number of words found in ancient Egyptian, which find similarities in the South Indian languages. But this line of research is still in an initial stage and it seems to be too early to draw any definite conclusion.

I should, however, make it clear that by the term 'Dravidian', I do not mean the language spoken by the present Tamilians. Though a very high antiquity going back to the 2nd century B.C., has been claimed by some for the earliest phase of the Śangam literature, it has been proved that the language found in it cannot be earlier than 500 A. D. We have also got epigraphical evidence against such high antiquity of the Tamil literature which does not seem to have been taken into account so far. A number of short records have been found engraved in natural rock shelters in the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly. Similar records have also been found inscribed on pottery during excavations at Arikamedu. Paleographically, these records have to be placed in the 3rd or 2nd cen-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tury B.C. The language used in them seems to be crude Tamil which is quite different from that found in ancient and modern literature. Obviously, at this period Tamil was still at a formative stage only.

One great stumbling block in the way of the solution of the Harappa problem is our inability to decipher the script found on seals, tablets, pottery stamps and graffiti. Many attempts have so far been made, but none has yet been accepted as correct. Langdon and Hunter wanted to connect this script with the Brāhmī of a much later period. Gadd of the British Museum, whose paper on the "Seals in Harappa style found at Ur and other places" is still regarded as classic, saw in these seals certain Sanskrit words. The Italian scientist Meriggi held that almost all the signs are ideograms expressing whole words, of ancient Brahui-Dravidic origin. The Hungarian scholar Hevesy attempted to connect this script with the hieroglyphic writing on the wooden slabs of the Easter Islands in the Pacific. In India, Father Heras, Prannath and Swami Sankarananda have tried a solution, each in his own way. One of the latest attempts is of Hrozny to show "a striking similarity of some Proto-Indian signs with those of the Hittite hieroglyphic writing". Unfortunately, this problem which is an equation with two unknown factors, *viz.* the script and the language, does not appear to be any nearer solution yet. One puzzling factor in the Harappa script is that its form remained the same for over seven centuries. We have not found any developed or simplified forms bearing any relationship with any other known script, contemporary or otherwise. We have also not discovered so far any bilingual inscription one of which is written in a known language to offer the key. We have not even got a sufficiently long inscription with a large number of recurring features to admit of correct interpretation. The longest known so far contains only 17 syllables, the usual number being only about half a dozen. This being the case, all conjectures made so far must be regarded as hypothetical. But at the same time, we need not give up hope. Extensive exploration and excavation may yet give us the much sought for clue. This is more encouraging when it appears that the seals of the Minoan civilization of Crete written in a script named by Evans as 'Minoan Linear B', have now been successfully deciphered as being connected with ancient Greek and thus pushing back the history of the Greek language from 800 B.C. to 1400 B.C. when the Minoan palace at Knossos was destroyed.

Now to return to the Harappa civilization once again, *vis-á-vis* its relation to the Aryans. After the 1946 excavations at Harappa, Dr. (now Sir) Mortimer Wheeler came to the conclusion that the fortified citadel of Harappa fell to the onslaught of the Aryans. From the frequent references in the Rigveda to Indra's epithet as *Purandara*, he derived strong

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

support for his theory. Later, Professor Stuart Piggott elaborated this thesis, but the basis on which Dr. Wheeler had built this attractive structure of his theory was often forgotten by subsequent workers. At Harappa, there are two cemeteries, one superimposed on the other. The lower cemetery, R 37, is contemporary with the mature Harappa civilization. But the upper cemetery, designated H, contained funerary vessels of a different type. These Wheeler was inclined to take as fashioned by the attacking vanguard of Aryan tribes.

For a while this solution gained currency. But further deliberation and exploration in India exposed the weakness of the foundations on which this elaborate and all too facile theory had been built. The extent of cemetery H culture, further exploration showed, was geographically very limited. If cemetery H people were to be identified with the Aryans, we should have expected the occurrence of the ware found in this cemetery elsewhere in the Panjab and in other river valleys sacred to the Aryans. But nowhere in these regions has this ware been found.

Working from known to unknown industries, light has, however, recently come from another quarter. An extremely shiny, often black, well-baked pottery, known to archaeologists as the Northern Black Polished ware, had been dated at Taxila to *c.* 500—300 B.C. Recent explorations in the Panjab and western U.P. and the excavations at Hastināpur revealed the presence of a grey ware painted with characteristic designs in black underlying the Northern Black Polished ware. What is more, this ware occurred exactly in the regions which could be described as the home of the early Aryans. This circumstantial evidence thus favoured the identification of the authors of the Painted Grey ware with the Aryans.

Although the discovery of the Painted Grey ware took us a step further, we had yet to find a site where this ware could be linked with the remains of Harappa civilization to close the gap. This was described as a dream a few years ago, and alternative methods were therefore being worked out to bridge the gulf. But the recent exavations at Rupar on the Sultlej, 60 miles to the north of Ambala, have revealed a complete sequence, with occasional breaks, from Harappa to late medieval times. Here, over a fluviatile loamy deposit, the excavators have exposed a flourishing settlement of Harappans containing all their characteristic equipment. Earthematerial ware, beads and bangles, chert blades, copper implements and utensils form the bulk of this equipment. There is also a tiny steatite seal inscribed with three symbols familiar to us from the script found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Over the accumulation of these objects is a deposit of the Painted Grey ware which in turn is succeeded by the Northern Black Polished ware.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Painted Grey ware has been roughly dated to *c.* 1000—600 B.C. It is evident that at Rupar there is a gap between the disappearance of Harappans and the arrival of the Painted Grey ware people. The duration of this gap is anybody's guess. The problem, therefore, is whether there are any grounds to push back the date of the Painted Grey ware, if it is to be regarded as the characteristic industry of the early Aryans. Another four or five centuries at the lower end will bring the Painted Grey ware in line with the literary evidence concerning the arrival of the Aryans. As things stand at present, the date assigned to the Painted Grey ware is certainly variable. For, from these deposits nothing definitely datable has as yet been recovered. The radio carbon tests in this connection will be helpful. In the Panjab at least, the Harappans and the authors of the Painted Grey ware do not appear to have come into contact with each other. Possibly, the Harappans, for reasons at present unknown to us, had already started moving out of the Panjab, eastward or southward or both, before the Painted Grey ware people came.

Coming to the historical period, the biggest obstacle in the reconstruction of North Indian history is our insufficient knowledge of some of the early eras. I shall consider here only one of them, *viz.* the Kushāna era. On a satisfactory fixation of its starting point depends the solution of several problems of the history of North India and also its art, particularly the development of art in Gandhāra and Mathurā. The question of its initial date has been under discussion for over 80 years starting with Cunningham and Edward Thomas in the last century, but up till now there has been no solution. The dates suggested range from the first century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. The latest researches on this subject are those of Sten Konow, Girschman, Mrs. J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and Doctors M. N. Saha and P. C. Sengupta. Girschman on the authority of his excavations at Begram in Afghanistan, fixed the initial point at 144 A.D. and Konow early in the 2nd quarter of the same century. Others are of the opinion that the so-called Kanishka era as used in the Kushāna inscriptions in Brāhmī characters is nothing but the continuation of the old Śaka era and was started by Kanishka round about 78 A.D. But the difficulty has so far been that the dated Brāhmī records of the Kushāna kings stop with the year 98 in the reign of Vāsudeva. Though it is now accepted that there were other kings of the dynasty after Vāsudeva, no dated records of the 2nd century of this era have so far been found. As a solution, Mrs. de Leeuw has suggested that in the 2nd century of the Kanishka era, the hundreds were omitted in and around Mathurā. In her book on "The Scythian Period" she has given several instances, in which she thinks that following an old Indian practice, the dates from 5 to 57 found in several records from the Mathurā region really represent the years 105 to 157. Saha also agrees with her.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Our attention is particularly drawn to two inscriptions—one of the year 86 and another of the year 15, in which one Āryā Vasulā is mentioned. It is pointed out that it would be impossible for the same person to occupy an important position in the Jaina community for a period of 71 years. In view of this and the paleographical peculiarities noticed in the two inscriptions, Mrs. de Leeuw reckons the year 15 as really the year 115 of Kanishka era, thus narrowing the difference between the two inscriptions to only 29 years. But the whole interpretation seems to be based on a misunderstanding of the actual words *Vasulāya nirvartanam* and *Vasulāya nivatane* used in the inscriptions. These words were originally translated by Buehler as 'at the request of Vasulā', which has been followed by subsequent writers, while the correct translation is 'for the emancipation of Vasulā'. This does not necessarily mean that she was alive when both the inscriptions were engraved. She was obviously an important personage and the donation of the images which the inscriptions record, might have been made by her relations and followers even after she departed this life. Moreover, the script of the record of the year 86 shows later forms than that of the year 15. We must not, however, forget that the paleography of the Mathurā inscriptions presents a number of puzzling features. We find that in many late inscriptions earlier forms persisted. To name only one, the Mathurā irscription of Chandragupta II of the year 61, shows definite Kushāna forms. There are also other reasons for thinking that it would not be correct to say that in the Kushāna inscriptions the centuries were omitted in Mathurā or in its neighbourhood. In Mathurā itself we have another inscription which is dated in the year 299. The paleography of this record is certainly Kushāna and even if we accept the reading of the date as 199, as Mrs. de Leeuw suggests, the stroke on the right side of the first symbol being accidental, the solution does not seem easy. To get over the difficulty Mrs. de Leeuw has suggested that the era used here was the same as that used in the north-west. But if that be the reason is not at all clear. This is a Jaina inscription, while those in the north-west are invariably Buddhist. Mathurā was a stronghold of Jainism and it is not understood why an era used in the north-west should be used at Mathurā only in a solitary instance. Whether the year is read as 299 or 199, it would show that the centuries were not omitted even in the Mathurā region. Again, Albīruni's Lokakāla, which Dr. Saha has made much of, seems to refer only to the Laukika or Saptarshi era prevalent in Kashmir and the neighbouring regions, in which the centuries are invariably omitted. Moreover, by the 11th century, when Albīruni came to India, the practice of dropping centuries, if it ever was an old practice in the case of other eras, of which we have no evidence, must have been long out of use at least in inscriptions. There is also an other evidence against it. We have

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

found a number of rulers at Kauśāmbī, with known dates. They are Mahārāja Gautamiputra Śivamagha, (date lost), Mahārāja Bhadramagha (years 81, 83, 86 and 87), Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa (year 107) and Mahārāja Bhīmavarman (years 130 and 139). A few years ago I discovered at Bandhogarh in the former Rewa State, about 20 Brāhmī inscriptions which contain the names and years of the following rulers: Mahārāja Vāsiṭhiputa Bhīmasena (year 51), his son Mahārāja Kochhiputta Poṭhasiri (years 86 and 87), and his son Mahārāja Kosikiputa Bhadadeva (year 90). Before this discovery, only the name of Mahārāja Bhīmasena was known from the painted inscription of the year 52 found by Cunningham in the Ginja hill, also in the Rewa State, but at a distance of nearly 100 miles as the crow flies from Bandhogarh. Amongh these inscriptions there is also a record of Rājan Vaiśravaṇa, son of the Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabāla. Another fragmentary inscription gives the name Śivamagha, whose date and other details are unfortunately lost and we cannot be certain if he is identical with the homonymous ruler of Kauśāmbī. Vaiśravaṇa, as his epithet Rājan and the name of his father show, must be different from the Kauśāmbī ruler of the same name. No indication is found in these records of their connection with the Kauśāmbī rulers, but the dates would show that at least Poṭhasiri and perhaps also his son Bhadadeva were contemporaries of Bhadramagha. Mirashi takes Bhīmasena of the Ginja hill inscription as belonging to the Magha dynasty and also identifies Bhadrabāla with Bhadramagha and Vaiśravaṇa of Bandhogarh with the Magha ruler of the year 107. But all these identifications are incorrect. In my opinion Bhadrabāla and Vaiśravaṇa were the earlier rulers of this family as their titles of Mahāsenāpati for the one and Rājan for the other would show. Bhadrabāla was perhaps the originator of the family. We have quite a number of instances to show that the designation of Mahāsenāpati in the early centuries before and after the Christian era, was not necessarily a military one, but only a title of nobility. After Vaiśravaṇa, all the other rulers bear the title of Mahārāja, the same as those at Kauśāmbī. Excavations at Bhitā have yielded seals of Śivamagha and Bhimasena. That there was some connection between the two families, there is no doubt. It is clear that they also ruled over quite an extensive area, though they might have been subordinate to the Kauśāmbī rulers as none of their coins has yet been found. There is also no doubt that the era used in both the sets of inscriptions is the same. The coin found at Bhitā and ascribed to Prashṭhaśrī may be a wrong reading for Puśvaśrī and may not have any connection with Poṭhasiri of the Bandhogarh inscriptions.

The script of these inscriptions is earlier than that found in the Gupta records and therefore some scholars are of the opinion that they should be dated in the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. Disagreeing with this view,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Mirashi has pointed out that in that case the last three rulers at least, whose dates we know, would be contemporaries of the Gupta emperors Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, and since they were ruling at Kauśābmī they must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. But none of these inscriptions mentions any Gupta overlord. Moreover, coins have been found of all the four rulers mentioned above and also of two others of the same dynasty, *viz.* Vijayamagha and Śatamagha, whose inscriptions have not been discovered so far. This would indicate their independent status and therefore these dates could be referred neither to the Gupta era nor to the Kalachuri era, but only to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. But one may point out that the grounds in Mirashi's objection against dating them in the Kalachuri era would equally be applicable to the Kushāna era with its initial year in 78 A.D., as some of the years of the Magha rulers would fall within the reign of some of the Kushāna rulers, particularly of Huvishka and Vāsudeva whose coins have been found at Kauśāmbī and there is nothing in the inscriptions to show that the Maghas were in any way subordinate to the Kushānas. In connection with excavations at Bhitā Marshall says that the antiquities found with the seals of Sivamagha and others were above the Maurya level and therefore must have belonged to the Kushāna period. The recent excavations at Kauśāmbī carried out by the Allahabad University give us a more definite clue. Shri G. R. Sharma, who has been in-charge of the excavations from the very beginning, informs me that the excavations revealed nine Sub-Periods of baked brick habitation at Kauśāmbī—the earliest being I(*a*) and I(*b*) and the last VIII. There is no trace of any Kushāna antiquity ,coins or seals upto SP IV. SP V is the first where Kushāna coins and seals occur. Part of SP V seems to have been under the rule of the Mitras, whose last coins are those of Rajanimitra and Jyeṭhamitra. Towards the later half of SP V the Kushānas seem to have invaded Kauśāmbī, a seal of Kanishka with the legend *Maḥārāja Rājātiraja Devaputra Kanishkasya Prayoge* furnishing the earliest evidence.

The coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva have been recovered from SP VI, which has also yielded coins of Neva and the Maghas. SP VII has yielded coins of Maghas only, and SP VIII those of Puśvaśrī. The entire site was deserted before Gaṇendra Gaṇapatināga, who was defeated by Samudragupta sometime in the second quarter of the 4th century A.D. This being the case, we cannot fit in all the presumably independent kings, *viz.* Puśvaśri, the Magha rulers, Neva and the Kushānas within this period except on the assumption that Kaniskha's era began about 78 A.D.

It is seen from the above that coins of all the three Kushāna kings, *viz.* Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva have been found at Kauśāmbī. We also find that the first non-Kushāna coins are found only in SP VI

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

along with those of the Kushānas. This would lead us to the natural conclusion that the Maghas came into power at Kauśāmbī only after Vāsudeva. It would therefore seem at first sight that the dates of the Magha rulers would have to be referred to some other era, which is later than the Kushānas and earlier than the Guptas. And the only era which would fit in would be the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. D. R. Bhandarkar and A. Ghosh were protagonists of this theory on paleographic grounds. Moreover, the areas in which the inscriptions have been found are associated with the Kalachuris or are contiguous to the Kalachuri territories. The earliest record of the Kalachuris of Tripurī I found on the fort at Bandhogarh. These are small inscriptions referring to the dedication of the images of fish, tortoise and boar, representing the incarnations of Vishṇu, by Gollāka *alias* Gauḍa, who was the son of Bhānu and the minister of the illustrious Yuvarajādeva. This ruler has to be identified with Yuvarajā I on paleographic grounds. At a first glance this theory looks plausible. But if we accept it there would be a big gap of about 150 years between the Kushāna Vāsudeva—assuming that the Kanishka era commenced in 78 A.D.—and Bhadramagha, whose earliest inscription is dated in the year 81. Even accepting that there might have been one or two other kings before Bhadramagha, the gap would remain quite large. The excavation at Kauśāmbi does not provide for this gap. For the same reason it is not possible to push the date of the Kushāna era late, as in that case the gap between the Mitra rulers and the Kushānas would be unduly large. Besides, as has been pointed out already, the reign of the Maghas would again coincide with that of the Guptas and the existence of an independent family of rulers within the Gupta territory would be unimaginable. The find of the seal and the inscriptions of Kanishka at Kauśāmbī would definitely show that it came under the Kushāna rule already in the time of Kanishka. But there is one significant fact that no inscription of Vāsudevā has been found outside the Mathurā region. It would not, therefore, be unreasonable to suppose that he had already lost his hold over Kauśāmbī when the Maghas came into power. The find of Vāsudeva's coins does not necessarily mean that Kauśāmbī was under his rule. The utmost it can show is that the Kushāna coins were still in currency at Kauśāmbī, though their rule was already extinct. Other examples of a similar nature are not wanting. If this theory is accepted and the Magha inscriptions are also dated in the Śaka era of 78 A.D. there would neither be any overlapping, nor any gap between the Kushāna and the Magha rule. The paleography of the Magha inscriptions also does not present any unsurmounting difficulty. Though at first sight the script of the Magha records looks later, Mirashi has already shown that all the forms found in them may be traced in the Kushāna inscriptions also. Since these records preserve the centuries, it would incidentally show that the practice could not have been different in Mathurā. It would be un-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

thinkable to suppose that the centuries would be omitted only by the Kushānas and not by others using the same era in a neighbouring region. I must, however, point out a slight difference found in the dating of the Kushāna and the Magha inscriptions which seems to have escaped the notice of Saha. Whereas, in the Kushāna inscriptions the date is given in years, the season and the day of the month, the Maghas used the same system of dating as found in all other early inscriptions, like those of the Sātavāhanas and others using the year, the season and not the day of the month, but the day of the fortnight. The only instance where the Kushāna system of dating has been used outside the Kushāna records, is the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahārāja Trikamala which is dated in the year 64 of an unspecified era. Nothing is known of this ruler and it is difficult to say at the present state of our knowledge how the Kushāna system of dating came to be used by that ruler.

I shall now briefly mention a few other problems which face us in the study of Ancient Indian History. There are many problems connected with the history of Northern, Eastern and Western India, but I have no time to discuss them here. Even the Mauryan period of Indian History of which we know quite a lot, is not totally free from doubts. The opinion of scholars is not unanimous about Chandragupta spending his last days at Śravaṇa-Belgola, to which place he is supposed to have migrated with his teacher Bhadrabāhu his other disciples. The history of the Mauryan empire after the reign of Aśoka is still obscure. Very little is known of the history of Kalinga, after the Mauryan conquest. The kingdom of Kalinga must have declared its independence sometime after Aśoka, but we have yet no knowledge of its continued history except the little we know about Khāravela.

Coming to the Sātavāhanas, the question of their original home as also the date of the foundation of their power has yet to be clarified. While some scholars hold the view that they came from Western India, others associate them with the Telugu country and yet others think that Berār was their original home. There is also considerable difference of opinion as regards the problem of Sātavāhana chronology and its reconciliation with the clue supplied by the Purāṇas.

Turning to South India, one of the fundamental problems which requires elucidation is that of the origin and early history of almost all the important dynasties like the Pallavas, Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Chālukyas, Rāshṭrakūṭas and Gangas. So far we have only mythical account of the origin of these dynasties. The identification of the Kalabhras who were in occupation of South India for some time is also uncertain.

No definite genealogical connection has yet been established between the Pallavas of the Sanskrit and Prākrit charters and those of the stone

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

records. The history of the later Pallavas after Nandivarman Pallavamalla and their synchronism with the early Cholas offer difficult problems. The discovery of the Ulchāla inscription of Chālukya Vijayāditya compels a revision of the chronology of the Pallava kings from Parameśvaravarman II, to the final overthrow of the dynasty by the Cholas. Again, the discovery of the Karandai plates of Rājendra Chola reveals certain new facts and puts forth some fresh problems in Pallava history, namely, the date of the final overthrow of the Pallavas by the Cholas, though the current opinion is that the annexation of the Pallava territory by Āditya I took place before 890 A.D. Besides, the identity of the Pallava king whom Parāntaka I defeated has to be settled, if Parāntaka's fight with the Pallavas was different from the one his father had with Aparājita. The place of Aparājita in the Pallava genealogy and the period of his reign, also remain uncertain so far. The position of the Pallavas after Āditya I came to the throne is not yet known. The history of the Cholas of Uraiyūr near Tiruchirāpalli is exceedingly obscure from the fourth to the ninth centuries. One of the most difficult phases of the Chola history is the interval from the death of Parāntaka to the accession of Rājarāja I and there are many questions to be answered. When did Parāntaka die? What exactly are the dates of Āditya II and Karikāla II? Who was Pārthivendravarman? The Karandai plates of Rājendra Chola credits Rājarāja the Great with a victory over the Bāṇa chief and the decapitation of a certain Bhogadeva. The Bāṇas had been subjugated by Parāntaka I and the necessity for Rajārāja to fight the Bāṇas once again cannot be ascertained. Again, there is the problem of Kulottunga I. The crux of the problem is—what did Kulottunga do with himself in the interval between his father's death and his accession to the throne? The circumstances under which he succeeded to the throne have also to be investigated. What is the last date of his successor Adhirājendra? We are not certain of the political relationship between Kulottunga and his uncle Vijayāditya, *viz.* whether they were or were not on friendly terms. The shortness of the reign of Adhirājendra is a question that does not admit of a decisive answer. The accession and identity of Rājarāja III has also not been settled finally.

The genealogy and chronology of the Pāṇḍyas of the post-Śangam age, from the seventh to the tenth centuries are by no means certain. Our knowledge of them is mainly derived from a few copper-plates and stone inscriptions. The succession of rulers between 1150 and 1350 A. D. is also not established. We are confronted with the existence of a number of princes of the family holding sway at the same time in different parts of the country. How they were related to one another we do not know. Similar uncertainty exists regarding the succession of rulers in Kerala during this period. The Kongu chieftains with Chola and Pāṇḍya names and the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Pāṇḍyas of Ucchangi present other problems of considerable interest but of no less difficulty. A connected account of the various minor dynasties, like the Śambuvarāyas, Mutturaiyars and Adigaimāns, is a long-felt need.

Turning our attention to the dynasties of the Kanarese districts, we are faced at the outset with the bewildering task of tracing the origin and fixing the chronology of the Western Gangas. Their origin lies concealed in legendary obscurity. The Ikshvāku, Brahma-Kshatriya, Yādava and Kāṇva origins have been put forward by various scholars, after forming hasty conclusions. The location of their ancestral home has also not been settled—some accounts place it at Ganga-Perūru near Cuddappah, which abounds in antiquities of a very early period including a Brāhmī inscription of about the 4th century.

The chronology of the Gangas is a problem equally difficult. Though the existence of the early rulers of this family known only through copper-plate charters is no longer disputed, their chronology or the order of their succession is not yet quite settled. The periods of Avinīta and Durvinīta have not been fixed. The "Avantisundarī-Kathā" ascribed to Daṇḍin states that Dāmodara, the great grandfather of Daṇḍin was staying with King Durvinīta of the Ganga dynasty, and that he also visited the courts of (the Eastern Chālukya) Vishṇuvardhana and (Pallava) Simhavishṇu thus making these three rulers contemporaries. The facts known from inscriptions cannot yet be reconciled with the information obtained from this literary source.

There are some issues, which require clarification in the relations between the Gangas and the Kadambas. While some scholars believe that Avinīta's mother was a sister of Krishṇavarman I, others are of the opinion that she was a sister of Krishṇavarman II.

The vicissitudes in the fortunes of Śivamāra II and his struggles with the Rāshṭrakūṭas have to be studied in detail. The last years of Śivamāra's rule also appear to be dark. The Ālūr and Maṇṇe grants of Mārasimha reveal that he had commenced to rule by about 797 A.D., probably when his father Śivamāra was in prison. But what happened to him after 802 when the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kambayya was appointed to rule over the Ganga country by his brother Govinda III?

Again further researches are needed into the rise to power of the Kadambas and the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Whether the different branches of the Kadamba dynasty were ruling over the whole of their dominion conjointly or whether the territory had been divided for purposes of administration that has yet to be determined. In what relationship the two princes Kumāravarmā and his son Māndhātā stood to the other members of the family is also not clear.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In the Aihole inscription it is stated that the Chālukyas had to encounter Appāyika and Govinda. The identity of these two persons is not certain. Later Chālukya copper-plates of the 10th-11th centuries state that the Chālukyas defeated a family of Rāshṭrakūṭas before they came to power. If this claim is justified, who were these Rāshṭrakūṭas? Where did they flourish? These are other problems which have to be solved. Little is known also of the original home of the Chālukyas.

Taking up the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, there is the primary question of their original home. Many theories have been put forward like Rāṭhor, Telugu, Marāṭhā and Kanarese, though scholars are now generally agreed that the family was of Kannāḍā origin. There are other problems which require elucidation in Rāshṭrakūṭa history. To name a few: (1) An account of the early members, where they held sway and whether they had any relation with the Western Chālukyas, before the time of Dantidurga. (2) The question of Dantidurga's end and the problem of Krishṇa I's succession.

The circumstances leading to the accession of Govinda IV are still obscure. Govinda IV was the younger son of Govinda III and Amoghavarsha II was the elder son. The reason why Govinda IV was chosen as the heir-apparent when the elder brother was living, is not clear. While some believe that Amoghavarsha II ruled for a short time, others are of the opinion that he did not rule at all. It seems that Govinda quietly set him aside and usurped the throne. But the Cambay and Sangli plates of Govinda IV specifically state that he did not ill-treat his elder brother. This, however, shows that there may have been some rumours current about his ill-treatment of his brother which necessitated the refutation of these charges. It is also not known whether Govinda indirectly brought about the removal of his elder brother, whose existence barred his way to the throne. Did Krishṇa III at all fight with the Chedis while he was a yuvarāja and if he conquered Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa, in what capacity did he do so?

The history of the Yādavas of Devagiri from the time of their origin to the time of Bhillama V is yet to be rescued from obscurity. The material bearing on the subject is meagre, being limited to legendary accounts given by Hemādri and a few records. The initial year of the reign of Simhaṇa has to be satisfactorily fixed. Different dates for the first year of his rule are indicated by inscriptions.

No connected account of the early minor dynasties like the Punnad Rājás, Siṇḍas and the Senavaras, is yet possible for want of sufficient data.

Among the Telugu dynasties of the early period the genealogies of Sālankāyanas and Vishṇukuṇḍins are still a matter of controversy. Was there only one Mádhavavarman who performed many sacrifices? By whom was the last Vishṇukuṇḍin ruler overthrown—Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana or

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Jayasimha? The history of the Eastern Chālukyas presents many unsolved problems, both chronological and political. The chronological difficulty is not due to any dearth of material as the Eastern Chālukya charters furnish long succession lists. Although the duration of each king is specified, it has not been possible to give a consistent chronological scheme. The exact date of the Chalukyan conquest of Vengi and the foundation of the Eastern Chālukya monarchy, on which rests the entire system of their chronology, is not known. Fleet thought that the starting point of the Eastern Chalukyā chronology was 615 A.D. With this as the initial year of the rule of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, the founder of the line, he worked out a chronology. Subsequently some copper-plate inscriptions were found which raised a doubt about the correctness of the initial date on which he based his theory. Some scholars put forward the theory that 631 was the first year and others thought it was 624. A copper-plate inscription which has been recently discovered would indicate that 624 might be the first year of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana. Though knotty problems of chronology are met with throughout the course of Eastern Chālukya history, they are more common and intricate in its earlier than in its later stages. The events of the last years of the reign of Amma II, after his return from Kalinga and the interval between the accession and coronation of Rājarāja I have given rise to various theories of chronology.

Coming to the Vijayanagara dynasty, we find that this period is also not altogether free from difficulties for the historian. The origin of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara is still obscure. Much has been written on the connection of some of the Śringeri *Gurus* with the origin of this dynasty. The earliest inscriptions relating to this may be found in the North and the West of Mysore State. The details of the fight for the throne which occurred after the death of Harihara II among Bukka II, Virūpāksha II and Devarāya I, are not available. The date of Mallikārjuna's death and the double revolution that occurred during his reign are matters which require investigation. Furthermore, the events connected with the internal dissensions and the triangular fight for the throne at the beginning of Achyuta's reign require elucidation. Finally, a comprehensive history of Vijayanagara after 1565 A.D. is a desideratum.

There are other problems of a general nature which need solution. The starting point of the (Eastern) Ganga era is still a disputed question. The dates of the founders of the two great systems of philosophy, *viz.*, Śankarāchārya and Madhvāchārya have not been settled. The traditional date assigned to Madhvāchārya (*i.e.* 1118 to 1197 A.D.) cannot be reconciled with the dates obtained for his disciples from inscriptions. The Śrīkūrmam inscriptions would lead us to the conclusion that the period of Madhvāchārya was from 1238 to 1317 A.D.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

These are but a few problems indicated at random, on which Indian scholars and historians could usefully concentrate.

The frontier regions of this sub-continent offer many interesting problems. For centuries they have been the meeting places of different races, cultures, trades and conquests and these have left indelible marks on their history. This is also true of the countries with which we had cultural contacts in the past. Can we properly reconstruct Indian History without studying the history of the North-Western Frontier and of countries like Tibet, Afghanistan, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma and the rest of South-East Asia, Central Asia and even China?

How important the frontiers are for the study of our history even of a comparatively late period, I shall illustrate by two examples. The first is a rock inscription in Sanskrit coming from the Gilgit region, an eye copy of which I got several years ago from the British Political Agent in Gilgit through the good offices of the late Sir Aurel Stein. It is written in proto-Śāradā script and is dated in the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Pausha of the year47. The date is evidently in the Laukika era, in which centuries are omitted, but paleographically it has to be placed in the 7th century A.D., probably earlier. The record belongs to the P. M. P. Paṭoladeva Shāhi *alias* Nava Surendrāditya Nandin and records the construction of a city by his minister Makarasimha, who besides bearing Indian titles is called the Giligittā Sarāmgha. Sarāmgha is an old Persian title meaning a 'chief' or 'military governor' and Giligittā is of course Gilgit, a name which was until now considered to be of modern, though obscure, origin. Besides this ruler, two others of the same dynasty are known from the colophons of the Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit excavated from a stupa in Gilgit. They are Śrīdeva Shāhi Surendra Vikramāditya Nandin and Paṭoladeva Shāhi Vajrāditya Nandin. No details are known of these Indianised Iranian rulers, who must have been originally connected with the Kushānas. It is certain that they did not belong to the family of the Hindu Shāhi rulers of Udabhāṇḍapura or Ohind, Gilgit being outside their domain, but belonged to an earlier branch of Shāhis ruling in the Darada territory. Nothing was known of these Shāhi rulers before except occasional references in the Rājatarangiṇī of Kalhaṇa. But what is most interesting is that Paṭoladeva claims his descent from Bhagadatta, which lineage is also claimed by Bhāskaravarman, the ruler of Prāgjyotisha or Assam and a contemporary of Harsha of Kanauj. No evidence is yet forthcoming, though guesses can be made, to show any connection between these two families—one ruling in the extreme north and the other in the eastern part of India.

The second inscription comes from Mrohaung, once the capital of Arakan which has long been associated with colonisation from India.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Hindus and Buddhists went there both by the land and the sea routes, though the chronicles of Arakan mainly associate this part with Buddhism. On a pillar fixed on a platform near the Shitthaung temple at Mrohaung is found a long Sanskrit inscription in Eastern Indian script of the 8th or 9th century A.D. It has not yet been properly studied. So far only a short note on this inscription has appeared in the Archaeological Survey Report and it has been referred to in the Dacca University edition of the "History of Bengal" in a footnote. The temple was built in the 16th century by king Minbun, but the inscription belongs to a much earlier period and must have come from Prang, 20 miles to the east of Mrohaung as will be shown below. Unfortunately, the record is badly effaced and the first 16 lines are quite illegible. Lines 17 to 29 give the names of 13 kings belonging to the Aila dynasty, all of which end with 'chandra'. The regnal years are also indicated in each case. It is stated that the 16 kings of this dynasty ruled for 230 years, but in the inscription only 13 names are extant, the total period of their reign being 212 years. The first ruler of this dynasty was Drinchandra, who is stated to have founded a city, the name of which is not given. The names of four rulers of this dynasty, *viz.*, Prītichandra, Devachandra, Nītichandra and Vīrachandra are known from coins. But the inscription does not throw any light on their origin. The epigraph then gives the names of nine other kings of a different dynasty. The first ruler is not mentioned by name, but only as the lord of the excellent city of Paren, obviously identical with modern Prang. The next two names are of non-Indian origin, but the remaining names are purely Indian, *viz.*, Dharmaśūra, Vajraśakti, Dharmavijaya, his son Narendravijaya and Dharmachandra *alias* Narendrachandra son of Vajraśakti and his son Mahārājādhirāja Ānandachandra. Dharmachandra is also known from his coins. The rest of the inscription is devoted to describing the greatness and munificence of Ānandachandra. He built many vihāras, one of them called after his own name, and made various gifts to them including gold and silver images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. Though a Buddhist himself, he also built four maṭhas for the Brāhmaṇas, one at Somatīrtha called Ānandamādhava and another at Naulakka called Ānandeśvara, obviously the first a Vishṇu and the second a Śaiva settlement. He endowed free hospices and repaired palaces and roads built by previous rulers. He also sent gifts to the Buddhist teachers in the country of the Megha king. Ānandachandra is stated to have been born in the Devāṇḍaja or Dharmāṇḍaja family, which reminds us of the Bhañja rulers of Orissa the originator of whose family is said to have been born out of an egg of a peahen. In order to have friendly alliance with him, the Megha king also built monasteries etc. in his own city called Tāmrapaṭṭana or Śrīpaṭṭana and gave his beautiful daughter Dhendā in marriage to Ānandachandra. We cannot identify this city, nor do we know anything of the Śaivāndhra

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

family in which Megha was born. The chronicles of Arakan do not help us in the identification of these rulers. In some manuscripts of the Mahābhārata, however, we find mention of Śaivas and Aindras, with the variants Andras, Andhas and Auḍras in conjunction with the Tāmraliptakas and others in lower Bengal. Hall seems to be right in thinking that the correct reading should be Andhra. Probably here we have a clue to the Śaivāndhras who were not really two different clans as assumed by Hall. Tāmrapaṭṭana of the inscription has no direct connection with Tāmralipta, but is it not possible that these people of Arakan originally hailed from lower Bengal and founded a city after their original homeland? This region, which abounds in ancient remains, has never been properly explored and if the recent war has not destroyed the monuments, there may still be quite a lot of interesting material to build up the ancient history of India and Arakan.

It is now an indisputable fact that the focal point of the oldest civilizations on earth was the basin of the Eastern Mediterranean and the region immediately to the east of it, and also India and China. Few realize even today the vital part played for the study of history, by archaeological research supplemented by philology, linguistics and anthropology, and the importance of comparative archaeology for a historian cannot be overemphasised. The time has already come when for the study of Indian History and culture, we can no longer depend entirely on the material available in India. Of course, both extensive and intensive study of our own material is essential, but that by itself is not enough. For a student of pre-history, knowledge of the pre-history of adjacent countries is necessary. Similarly, for a student of proto-history, knowledge of the early history of the Mediterranean countries is essential. Even for students of the historical period, an isolated study of the nidigenous sources alone may not always supply a solution to many problems for which the key may have to be sought outside the country. We have to study the history of our neighbouring countries, which at one time influenced India or were influenced by her. We must have a sound knowledge of the migration of races and the movement of cultures which are fascinating studies, though beset with difficulties.

Now the question is what should be done for the fulfilment of our object. Indian History and Culture as a subject is no doubt taught in some of our universities. We have among us first-rate scholars who have produced admirable works. But what we have is not enough. The subjects taught are limited in scope and more or less the same everywhere and those who want to break fresh grounds are at a disadvantage for want of facilities. Is there any institution in India where one can study and carry on researches on the ancient history of the Mediterranean countries, or even of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

history of our neighbours such as Burma, Ceylon, Thailand, Malaya and Indonesia? Are there any facilities for studying our ancient contacts with China and Central Asia, the meeting ground of various civilizations of the East and the West? The answer is a definite 'No'. What we need in India is a special Research Institute, where the best of our scholars can carry on researches on specialized subjects unhampered in every way. The return will be worth the money spent. The actual number of students coming forward is not so important. There are many institutions abroad where in numbers the staff exceeds the students. There are also institutions like the Collége de France, where scholars of the highest reputation get all facilities for their research. In recent years I have spent some time in European countries visiting their universities and Research Institutes. Only a few months ago I was in West Germany and visited all the universities and Archaeological, Indological and Ethnological Institutes there. In most of the European countries which went through two world wars, and particularly in Germany, which lost both, the recovery has been wonderful. Germany has reorganised her universities and educational institutions despite all the difficulties she had to face after the war. Not only in Germany, but in most European countries, those engaged in scientific studies get facilities for visiting the countries selected for their special study and are allowed to work there for a limited period. In addition, they send out various missions on explorations. Since our Independence, so many foreign specialists have visited India, Tibet and Nepal, their tours being sponsored by their respective Governments, universities or some research organisations. But I do not know of any such facility offered by the Central or State Governments or by any of our universities for a similar study to our own scholars. It is no use talking about our wonderful past, unless we learn how to cherish it and how to reveal it to others in all its glory.

Today, everywhere there is a fund of goodwill towards India. Many of these countries have very little to learn from us of modern science or industry, but they are all anxious to know about our history and our culture, our art and our literature. No doubt, we send from time to time Cultural Delegations to other countries for a few days or at the most for a few weeks. Such visits though useful, do not have any lasting effect on the countries visited. Perhaps we could organise something on the lines of the British Council and have an Indian Council to be run as a non-official organization for bringing home to other nations all that we consider our best.

I would like to take this opportunity of placing before you another matter in which all historians are interested. It is the revision of the Imperial, State and District Gazetteers. They were last published late in the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

19th or early in the present century and are now altogether out of date. I had a great hope that soon after Independence, we would undertake the writing of our own Gazetteers, but as far as I know, very little headway has been made so far. It is understood that a few States have already undertaken the work, but almost without that essential co-ordination from the Centre. I feel that there should be a strong Advisory Board in the Centre composed of historians, statisticians and others, which could help the Government in formulating a co-ordinated plan indicating an uniform pattern for the collection of materials and statistics and for their inclusion in common chapters. When the previous Gazetteers were compiled, the policy was laid down by the Central Government and the work was carried out following an uniform plan. Even the Head of the State, the then Viceroy of India, took a personal interest in this work. What has happened on this occasion is, I understand, that one State has appointed a fairly large staff to do the work and the Gazetteer of each district will probably go into several volumes. Another State has left the work to the mercy of the district officers. The States will thus be producing different types of work and the result may be chaos as far as the readers are concerned. I know that it has been held in certain quarters that the State are autonomous and since they are now issuing so many Reports and Blue Books, the necessity for District Gazetteers have become less urgent. But does not the very fact that a very large number of Reports, etc. are being issued which are not always accessible to every body, make the necessity for District Gazetteers all the more acute?

While I am on this subject, I would like to invite your attention to the importance of a Gazetteer of ancient place-names. We certainly know of the broad divisions and the important cities and towns of ancient India. But we have thousands of other names, which occur in our literatures and inscriptions. No attempt has yet been made to put them together. More than twenty years ago, the Kern Institute at Leiden had formulated scheme for the preparation of an Atlas of Ancient India. But it never materialised, I understand, for lack of funds. The Epigraphical Branch of the Department of Archaeology could very well undertake this work if necessary staff could be made available to it by Government.

Apart from Gazetteers, there is another matter which I would like to bring to your notice. It relates to our records. The Government of India have taken over the records in the Part 'C' States and the former Residencies. But it is unfortunate that instead of keeping them together at one place in the Central National Archives, they are being split up and sent partly to Bhopal and partly to Mount Abu. This, I fear, is a step in the wrong direction. It will not only cause inconvenience to scholars wanting access to these records, but the heavy rainfall and humidity in Mount Abu

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

may cause deterioration of the records. In Part 'B' States, particularly those States to which many of the former Indian States have integrated, the progress of the collection and preservation of records does not appear to have been as rapid as one would wish. Paucity of funds may be the cause, but at the same time we are likely to lose much valualbe material due to delay and negligence. Even in some of the Part 'A' States, the District Record Rooms and the Archives of the Rayasat possess valuable records with no one to take care of them. Every State should undertake the compilation of a Digest and a handly reference book of the important records outside its Secretariat. I know this means much work, but we can accomplish it if we are determined to do so.

I am also not aware of the present position about the division of records in the former India Office. A Fact Finding Committee was appointed by the Government of India as early as 1947, but it never met. In the interest of scholarship this work should be expedited.

I have indicated above some of the problems of Indian History that face us today. I have also said what I feel about certain other matters. Some of us have reached the evening of life and on you my younger colleagues now devolves the solution of many of the problems and the duty of bringing a new outlook on the study of our history. We have to depend on you to build up a solid foundation for Indian scholarship free from all bias.

Before I conclude, I would like to give you a very brief idea of the activities of the different organisations in furthering the cause of Indian History. As regards the *History of India* undertaken by this Congress, all Chapters of Volume II have been set type and many of them have been printed. The editors of Volumes III and IX have also made considerable progress and these Volumes are expected to be ready for the press during the next few months.

The Third Volume of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's edition of 'The History and Culture of the Indian People', Comprising 300-750 A. D. is already published and the Foutrh Volume dealing with the period 750---1000 A. D. is also expected to be out soon.

The Mahārāja Sivajirao University of Baroda has undertaken the publication of a Chronology of Gujarat, in four volumes, starting from the earliest times to the year of our Independence under the general editorship of Dr. M. R. Majumdar. It is understood that the First Volume will soon go to the press. This is a very laudable enterprise and I wish it all success.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SECTION I
(Upto 711 A. D.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

SECTION I (UPTO 711 A. D.)

DR. MOTI CHANDRA

FELLOW DELEGATES,

At the very outset let me thank you for electing me as president of the Ancient Indian History Section I. Strictly speaking I am not a 'historian' in the accepted sense of the word, as I have contributed little to the political history of ancient India, beset with many thorny problems of chronology. My own subject has been the history of Indian Art and Archaeology, and the study of ancient Indian life as revealed by field archaeology and literature. Certain facets of ancient Indian life such as costumes and ornaments, pastimes and amusements, daily life of kings and ordinary citizens and popular beliefs and cults appeal to me more than painstaking researches in the different problems of chronology which, though necessary for the framework of Indian history, leave me cold and confused.

When a Chinese philosopher complained to Sardar Panikkar that most of the text books on Indian history read like telephone directories—mere catalogues of kings and dates without an internal connection—he was only repeating the truth which must be faced squarely by all serious students of ancient Indian history. Unfortunately, owing to the lack of recorded history, the framework of ancient Indian history had to be prepared from the lithic records, copper plates, numismatic evidences and traditions which more than often do not deal with history proper. The result has been that ancient Indian history appears like a skeleton without flesh and blood. We are lost in the quagmire of dates and wars and lose sight of the evolutionary trends of Indian society without which no history of the Indian people could be complete. There are, no doubt, serious difficulties in such a study, but there is little doubt that the archaeological investigations of the last fifty years and specialised studies of such great monuments as Bharhut, Sānchi, Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Ajaṇṭā on one hand and the publication and interpretation of ancient texts on the other have thrown much light on the social conditions between 1500 B.C. to 500 A.D. The trouble with ourselves is that we do not study and analyse these sources properly in order to present an integrated picture of the people and their culture. Recently, there has been a tendency to include separate chapters on social and political institutions, art and culture in history books, but uprooted from their historical contexts, they appear like solitary phenomena. In my opinion if the ancient Indian history

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is to be more popular the future historians must lay stress not so much on the political achievements of the great Indian rulers as on the vivid picture of the political and social life of those days. This alone will give us an integrated picture of the Indian society. The aim of the future historian must be to focus the attention of the students not so much on the chronicles of the kings as on the evolutionary trends of Indian society beginning from the tribal to the highly centralised monarchical state and the elements that have gone into making its civilization.

Indian sources are looked with suspicion by the historians owing to the uncertainty of their dates and the changes brought about in the texts in the course of their transmission through centuries. But whatever may be the criticism against the 'literary antiquarianism', there is little doubt that the literature of a particular period, inspite of the literary conventions which pervade it, reflects the true spirit of that age. For instance, the great epic *Mahābhārata* which has grown to its present form in the course of centuries contains various historical strata far removed from its original story. To quote an instance, in the *Digvijaya Parvan* (MB. II. 24. 22-27) the conquest by Arjuna of the Rishikas and Paràma-Rishikas is perhaps a pointer to the advancement of the Yue-chīs from their Central Asian home towards Bactria in the 2nd century B.C. That the author of this particular section of the *Mahābhārata* was acquainted with the Yue-chīs is further supported by a reference in the *Ādiparvan* (MB. I. 61 30) to the eponymous Rishika king who traced his descent from Chandra and Diti. In this connection it is interesting to note Prof. Charpertier's suggestion (ZDMG 71, 1917, p. 375) that the Chinese word Yue-chi could be translated as the 'Moon Clan'. Another confirmation of the *Mahābhārata* as a source book of Indian history comes from the conquest of the Vāṭadhāna Brāhmanas of Madhyamikā by Nakula (MB. II. 29. 7). The siege of Madhyamikā by the Yavanas in the 2nd century B.C. was such a famous event as to merit its citation by Patañjali. The probability here is that the Vāṭadhānas here are the Śungas, as *Vaṭa* and *Śunga* both in Sanskrit mean the banyan tree. If our surmise is correct then under the guise of Nakula's conquest, the *Mahābhārata* has preserved the memory of the historical event of Demetrius' invasion of India.

To what extent literature could be coaxed to yield the material of historical value is evident from the two recent works of Dr. V. S. Agrawala. In his work *India as known to Panini*, Dr. Agrawala, with his keen sense of interpretation, has drawn a vivid picture of India in the 5th century B.C. In this work, the geography and tribal states of India, her people, her political and social institutions, her trade and commerce, her educational system, etc. have received ample justice. Pāṇini introduces us to a living people in his short *Sūtras*, whose convincing picture could only be drawn by painful researches. Dr. Agrawala's methodology has shown how archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics and tradition could help in interpreting literary data in their proper perspective.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

His another work *Harshacharita eka Adhyayana* in Hindi opens a new chapter in the interpretation of literature in elucidating the social, religious and political conditions of the Indian people. In the words of Dr. Agrawala, "The words of Bāṇa are the moving pictures of Indian life. He has drawn minute pictures of the palaces of the kings, the public and private audience halls, the encampment, the army on the mardh, the simple peasants living in the forest villages of the Vindhyas, the hermitages and contemplative hermits like Divākaramitra... To grasp the full meaning of these pen pictures we have to focus our attention to the age of Bāṇa in which the words he used had definite connotations, and had not become bedimmed with the passage of time." The author has fully lived to his dictum and managed to draw a living picture of the society in the mid-seventh century. Bāṇa's penetrating descriptions of a contemporary cultured family, music and dancing, courtezans, festivals at the birth of the royal princes, the pomp and show at the royal marriages, the foreign articles of wear such as *stavaraka* and *pringā*, *vārabāṇa* and *chīnacholaka*, the religious orders, the march of Harsha's army and the utter confusion following in its wake, the presents from Bhāskaravarman of Assam and his sarcasms on the bureaucracy have been fully interpreted and dealt with. Dr. Agrawala's intimate knowledge of Indian art and architecture have helped him in understanding and interpreting the architectural layout of certain type of buildings and motives used in ornaments and furniture.

I have myself made ample use of art and literature to elucidate certain obscure phases of Indian culture such as the costumes, hair styles, etc. Such collaboration, if done carefully, gives meaning to both art and literature. Besides, the method is of immense advantage for interpreting the objects yielded by archaeology. The literary data, when fully collaborated with the archaeological or epigraphical data, are bound to be helpful in fixing the dates of certain undated works.

In the study of ancient Indian history the full import of historical geography has not yet been realised. The knowledge of historical geography and the trade routes which were traversed by the merchants and conquerors alike is essential for understanding the political boundaries and the physical features of our country. Indian literature does not give a connected account of the ancient geographical features of this country. In the Pauranic literature the names of the countries, mountains, rivers, *janapadas*, tribes, etc., are mentioned in the *Bhuvana-kośas* without any topographical details, assuming the knowledge of their situations by the contemporary Indians as a matter of course. This attitude towards the geography of the country has created serious difficulties for the students of historical geography of India, as the information supplied by the literary sources has to be supplemented and checked up by the Greecian, Chinese, and epigraphical and numismatic sources. Pioneers in the modern topographical

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

researches concerning India such as Mason, Burnes, Wood, St. Martin, Julien, Foucher, Sylvain Lévi, B. C. Law etc., have done much to increase our knowledge of ancient Indian geography, but much remains to be done. Unfortunately, the text of the *Bhuvana-kośas*, the main source of our knowledge, is corrupt and requires critical edition. The commendable efforts of Dr. Kierfel and Dr. Sarkar require further emulation. The Pāli Buddhist sources are somewhat better in their knowledge of Indian geography, but the information is mostly about eastern India. This shortcoming was greatly remedied when Buddhism penetrated into Afghanistan, Central Asia and China. The literature of Sanskrit Buddhism and the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* have preserved for us geographical allusions about the Panjāb and North-Western India, but here again the sense of topographical precision is lacking. Such being the condition of the sources of historical geography of India the task of a research student is unenviable. He has to conform to the strictly scientific methods of modern research with a limited material at hand. Philology, a handmaid of all Indic studies, sometimes tries to overreach itself in the matter of geographical studies. The phonetic similarities in place-names are so great that one is tempted to identify a modern place-name with its ancient equivalent. Philology is a good guide, but its result in the sphere of topographical researches must be checked by other sources as well.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala, in his recent work *India as known to Panini*, has shown how a tense grammatical work could, by painstaking research, made to yield geographical data of great interest. As observed by him the grammarian culled his linguistic material including the geographical data by surveying the places in the country extending from Kamboja and Kāpiśī to Kalinga (Orissa) and Surmas (Sūrma valley in Assam). Here the classification of the place-names is not based on haphazard but on well defined etymological system. This approach to place-names reveals to us many forgotten chapters of history and settlements on the land, and is of abiding historical value.

Time precludes me from a detailed survey of the geographical data in Pāṇini, but as an instance we may quote the identification of Yugandhara mentioned by the *Kāśikā* (IV, I. 173) as one of the member states of the Sālvāvyava confederacy. Recent excavations at Jagat-grām in Dehradun District, U.P. (*Ind. Arch.* 1953-54, pp. 10-11) have yielded *Asvamedha* sites in one of which the bricks bearing inscriptions in Brāhmi characters inform us that Śīlavarman left there the *chiti* or the architectural remains of his fourth horse-sacrifice. The inscribed bricks from the second site reveal the personality of the King as Vārshagaṇya, Yugeśvara or Yugeśa or the Lord of Yugaśaila. The word Yugeśa here is suggested as meaning 'lord of the lustrum', implying purification by sacrifice and that Yugaśaila was the name of his capital. The more probable explanation is that Yuga here

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

denotes a place-name and may be identified with Yugandhara a constituent of the Śālvas, an ancient Aryan race which probably migrating from Baluchistan and Sindh and following the Saraswatī-river finally settled in north Rājasthān. The dim memory of their intrusion to the Yamunā is preserved in an old Vedic verse which says that the Śālva women while turning their spinning wheels on the bank of the river sang that their king was a Yaugandhari. Yugandhara, therefore, should be located in the Yamunā. The archaeological site at Jagat-grām faces the Himalayas and the region, where the Yamuna first descends from the mountain should be the ancient Yugandhara. Yugandhara also appears on an inscribed Gupta seal from Rājghāt.

I need not detain you here by expanding on the value of historical traditions which in the absence of written history are of great importance. I do not mean, however, that the traditions should be accepted at their face value, as oral traditions in the course of their transmission through centuries are prone to accrete spurious materials; nevertheless they carry certain elements of truth which could not be discarded as mere hearsays. I want to draw your attention to certain old Jain traditions to prove my point. Thus in the legend of Kuṇāla in the *Brihatkalpasūtra Bhāshya* (3375 ff) it is said that Aśoka had bestowed upon Kuṇāla, who was yet a child, the viceroyalty of Ujjain. Once he wrote to his officers that the prince was to be taught (*adhīyatām*), but the order was wilfully altered by Kuṇāla's step-mother and he was blinded (*andhīyatām*). Thereat Aśoka bestowed on him a village for his maintenance and made arrangements for his instruction in music. Wishing a kingdom for his son Samprati, Kuṇāla returned to Pāṭaliputra and after giving an impressive musical performance before Aśoka, when asked for a gift, said: *Chanda-Guttapa puttoya Bindusārassanttuo, Asogasiriṇoputto andho jāyai Kāgiṇim*—great-grandson of Chandragupta, grandson of Bindusara and son of Asoka the blindman wishes a kingdom for himself. He of course wanted the kingdom for his son Samprati who established him at Ujjayinī and extended his empire by leading expeditions to Dakshiṇāpatha. Samprati is said to have come under the influence of the famous Jain monk Ārya Suhastin. He distributed alms at the four gates of the city and asked the merchants and peddlars to distribute clothings to Jain monks freely. He opened kitchens at the city gates which supplied free meals to the poor, the orphans and travellers. The cooks took away what was left, but Samprati asked them to give away their shares to the monks, as it was customary with them not to eat the *rajapiṇḍa*. Similarly the oil dealers, sweetmeat sellers and cloth sellers, etc. were asked to distribute their goods freely to the monks. They were all compensated by the state for free distribution. He became the *upāsaka* of the Śramaṇas after taking the Five Vows. He sent for the frontier rulers and explained to them the religious precept of Jainism and when they returned to their

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

countries he sent them the message—"Respect the Śramaṇas". He also issued the following proclamation to the rulers: "If you accept me as your overlord then you should bow down to the Śramaṇas. I do not want money paid in taxes; bowing to the Śramaṇas is more endearing to me." He undertook tours (*aṇujāṇe aṇujāti*), planted flower plants and trees and worsshipped at the temples (*chaitya*). Taking the hint the frontier rulers proclaimed the stoppage of the slaughter of animals and built temples and thus the frontier lands became safe for the Jain monks. It is further given in the commentary that when Samprati asked the monks to proceed to the frontier lands to preach religion and thus awaken the consciousness of the people, they raised objection that they were unable to do so as the frontier people had no knowledge of the rules of conduct which governed the Bhikshus. Then Samprati, having coached his soldiers in religious principles, sent them to the frontier countries in the guise of monks. And through the efforts of these monk-soldiers the frontier people because religiousmined and the land became fit for the Jain Bhikshus to move about.

As regards the invincible army of Samprati it is said that with the help of powerful soldiers he opened the lands of the Tamils and the Āndhras. According to the commentary his conquests also included Mahārāshṭra and Kuḍukka or Coorg.

The Samprati legends summarised above has certain striking parallels in the inscriptions of Āśoka. Liberality to the Śramaṇas, interdiction on killing the animals, feeding of the poor and needy, raising up of monuments, carrying the message of religion to frontier lands are common features to both. Samprati's *aṇujāṇe aṇujāti* recalls to mind the *anusamyāna* of Girnar R. E. III and *pupphā ruhaṇa* of planting of trees on the roadside in Girnar R. E. III. As a matter of fact, the legend of Samprati breathes the same spirit of tolerance and well-being as the inscriptions of Aśoka. But while Aśoka sent peaceful emissaries to the frontier countries for the propagation of faith, Samprati sent his disciplined soldiers in the guise of monks to teach the people the lesson of piety.

Another interesting point in the Samprati legend is his conquest of the Āndhras and the Draviḍas. So far as the Āndhras are concerned, the Minor Rock-Edicts at Yerraguḍi and RájulaManda-giri in Kurnool District, show the extension of the Mauryan supremacy to at least some parts of Āndhra-deśa. Whether Samprati extended the Maurya power in Āndhradeśa or whether he re-established the Mauryan supremacy which had suffered a decline after Aśoka it is difficult to say. Similarly, Mahārāshṭra and probably Coorg were included within Aśoka's empire and Samprati might have reestablished the declining Maurya power there. The extreme south of the Peninsula was according to Rock-Edict II occupied by the independent states of Chola, Pāṇḍya, Sātiyaputa and Keralaputa. Aśoka only seems to have shown an interest in the physical and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

mental well-being of his neighbouring states. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in the *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* (Chapter VII) has examined the references in early Tamil literature to Mauryas leading an expedition to Tamilnāḍ and their friendliness towards Kosar or Satiyaputra. He does not indicate when this event took place, but if the Samprati legend is to be believd it was Samprati who brought Tamilnāḍ under the domination of the Mauryas.

The chronology of the Sātavāhanas has received attention from scholars and the numismatic, epigraphic and Pauranic evidenes have been thoroughly sifted and examined. The Jain traditions, however, are of interest in throwing additional light on the glory of the Sātavāhanas, who, in the early centuries of the Christian era, symbolised a mighty power in the south which counterbalanced the mighty Kushāṇa empire in the north. In one story (*Brihat-Kāl. Bhā.* 6244-6249, *Vyavahāra Sūtra*, pp. 35 ff), King Śālivāhana who was reigning at Pratiṣṭhāna situated on the bank of the Godāvarī had a minister named Kharaka. Once Śālivāhaṇa ordered his commander-in-chief to conquer Mathurā. The fellow did not ask his master which of the two Mathurās he had meant. To simplify the matter he conquered both northern and southern Mathurā. At the time when the message of the grand conquest reached ,a son was born to the chief queen and the news came that untold treasures were discovered in some part of the country. All these happy news deranged the mind of the King and he began tossing his head against the pillars and uttering: "O Godavari, tell me on the oath of the Eastern Ocean whether there is any other dynasty on your bank matching the Satavahana dynasty.

On the nórth the Himalayas and in the South King Sālivahaṇa counterpoise the movement of this earth."

The poor minister to save the life of his master had the columns in the bedroom demolished, for which he was struck by the King. How the minister made himself scarce and was later on reconciled with the King forms a part of the story.

Another Sātavāhana legend in the *Āvaśyaka Chūrṇi* of Haribhadra (pp. 712, 713) says that Bharukachchha was ruled by Nahavāhaṇa and Pratishṭhāna by Śalivāhaṇa who had large forces. Nahavāhaṇa, an immensely rich ruler, awarded those who brought to him the decapitated heads and hands of the soldiers of his enemy's forces. Sālivāhaṇa's people also at times indulged in head hunting, but received no awards for it. This story was repeated year after year. Once a minister of Śālivāhaṇa thought of a ruse. He carried the loads of bdellium (*guggula*) to Bharukachchha. There he stayed in a temple and spread the news that he was banished by Śālivāhaṇa. Nahavāhaṇa was attracted towards him. Taking advantage of this and posing himself as a saint he advised his new patron to build temples, *stūpas*, wells, etc. which exhausted Nahavāhaṇa's

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

treasury. Then the minister called Sālivāhaṇa, and as there was nothing left to bribe the people by way of rewards, the city was çaptured and razed to the ground.

The first legend points to the growing power of the Sātavāhaṇas extending from Mathurā in the north to Mathura in the south. The second legend is of greater importance as it points to the growing rivalry between Nahapāṇa and Gautamīputra for the port of Broach. History also tells us that Nahapāṇa built temples, and Ushavadāta his son-in-law (Luder's List, Nos. 1131, 1132) is said to have given alms at the river Barṇāsā, Prabhāsa, Bharukachchha, Daśapura, Govardhana, Sopāraga etc., and built cells (*Ovāraka*) and dedicated caves (*leṇa*) and cisterns (*poḍhī*).

The problem of the relationship between the Śakas and the Sātavāhaṇas has been dealt by Prof. S. Levi (*Journal Asiatique*, 1936. Jan.-March pp. 61-121). The *Periplus* mentions Paiṭhāna at twenty days journey from Barygaza, Tagara and the market of Soupara (Nālāsoparā near Bombay), and Calliena (Kalyan), which was open in the time of Saraganus the Elder, but after Sandanes had become its master, the market was forbidden to the Greek ships which were taken underguard to Barygaza. The Paiṭhan-Kalyān route was shorter by 80 miles to Paiṭhan-Broach route which passed difficult mountainous country, though the Broach route had an advantage over the Sopārā route as it commanded the fertile valley of Narmadā and was connected by direct rout to Ujjain, Mathurā, Punjāb, Kabul, Western and Central Asia on one hand and northern India on the other. The coastal trade of Sopārā continued to grow in the time of the *Periplus* but it gradually declined due to the discovery of the monsoon. Taking advantage of this ships from the Red Sea went straight from Ras Fartak to Malabar coast where the Port Muziris eclipsed the fortune of all other ports.

For a short time Broach occupied the first place among the Indian ports and therefore its possession was disputed. Aparānta in which Broach is situated, conquered by the Scythians in the second half of the first century, probably by Nahapāṇa, was taken back by Gautamīputra and reconquered by Rudradāman in the 2nd century A.D. Nāsik, commanding the passes on the ghāṭ on the Paiṭhan-Broach route, was ruled by Nahapāṇa between the years 41 and 46 as attested by inscriptions, but it became a part of the domain of Gautamīputra in his 18th regnal year and continued to be so in the time of his successor Pulumāyi Vāsishṭīputra. Ptolemy, however, does not include Nāsik in Ariake the domain of Pulumāyi but in Larike, the domain of Tistanes or Chaṣṭana, who had his capital city at Ozene or Ujjayini.

It is interestins to note that the boundary of Larike in the east started from Nāsik and continued to the west of Broach. The other cities lay to the north west of this base. Thus Gautamīputra had not yet been able

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to conquer Nasik from Chaṣṭaṇa, when Ptolemy's informants, in the first part of the second century A.D., were in India. Gautamīputra having annihilated the Khakharātas was for sometime the master of Avantī, but all the territory was reconquered by Rudradāman.

The name of Nahapāṇa as Nambanus in the *Periplus* (41) is well nigh unrecognizable. According to him after Barake or Dvārakā all the parts of the Gulf of Barygaza and the continental parts of Ariake belonged to Nambanus. That means that in the time of the *Periplus* the kingdom of Nahapāṇa included an integral part of Ariake and formed a leading state, its neighbour in the north being the Parthians in the lower Indus region. It is worthy to note however that Ariake in Greek had a limited meaning and did not signify the whole India. Thus Ptolemy (VII, I, 6) includes in Ariake the littoral from Souppara to Balepatna situated south of Semylla (Chaul) and incorporated (VII, I, 82) the kingdom of the Sātavāhaṇas with Paithana, Hippokoura, the royal cities of Balekouros and extending to Banabasi in north Kanara—the ensemble being known as Dakhinabades to the *periplus*. Ptolemy gave the name Larike to that part of the country which included the maritime and the interior regions which extended from Indo-Scythia to Broach with Ozene as the capital. The differences between Ariake and Larike in Ptolemy's geography show that the political geography in his time had changed.

While examining the political boundaries of the Śakas and the Śātavāhana empires Prof. Lévi has produced authentic evidences to identify Sandanes with Kanishka whose occupation of Barygaza stopped the Graeco-Roman trade of Kalyan. According to him Sandanes stands for Chandra, a royal title used by Kanishka or younger members of his family. But placing the rule of Kanishka in Konkan as proposed by Lévi runs counter to accepted history which places Kanishka's rule over northern India—from the Indus to Banaras. Prof. Lévi after discussing the situation of Tong-li of the Chinese historian identifies it with Draviḍa or south India and comes to the conclusion that at least between 25 to 170 A. D. the Yue-chi were the masters of the principalities in the Deccan. The appearance of Sandanes at Broach, and Sandan after the coast of Ariake in Limyrike according to Ptolemy points to the progress of the Yue-chī. That the progress of the Yue-chi in the Deccan is not merely a surmise but a historical fact is supported by the find of Śaka Māna Māhisha coins from south Hyderabad. According to Prof. Mirashi the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kish. 41. 10) places the Vidarbhas, the Rishīkas and the Māhishakas as contiguous peoples. Vidarbha represents Berar and the Marāṭhī speaking part of Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad State, and the Rishīka was the name of Khandesh. That is an additional proof of the presence of the YUe-chi in the Deccan.

The occupation of Bharukachchha and Sopārā by Sandanes resulted

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in the deviation of commerce to the Malabar coast and led to the rise of Muziris which became a great port in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Perhaps the Śaka-Śātavāhana struggle for power accelerated Indian migration to Indo-China and Indonesia.

The struggle for supremacy by the Śakas and the the Śātavāhaṇas led to the disintegration of their empires. But political manouvring by these powers did not cease even in the second and third centuries A.D. As an example I may point out here the rise of the Maghas in eastern U.P., whose coins have been found from Kauśāmbī, Bāndā and Fatehpur, seals from Bhītā and Banaras and inscriptions from Kauśāmbī and Bāndhavagarh. To understand the connection of the Maghas who, according to Pauranic chronology, ruled over South Kosala, a brief reference to their history as propounded by Dr. A. S. Altekar is necessary. According to him Vāsiṭhiputta Bhīmasena on the strength of his inscription dated 51 (Bīndhavargarh) and 52 (Ginjā) reigned from c. 123 to 148 and his territory extended from Ginjā 40 miles south of Allahabad to Bāndhavargarh; Kauśāmbī at that time being controlled by Kushāṇas. The find of Bhīmsena's seal at Bhita is according to Dr. Alekar merely accidental. After Bhīmasena, Kochī-putta Poṭhasiri reigned from c. 148 to 168. His foreign minister was Magha. His five inscriptions come from Bāndhavagarh. Dr. Altekar surmises that prince Bhadramagha or Bhaṭṭadeva of Kauśāmbi where his inscriptions dated, 159, 164 and 165 A.D. have been found succeeded him. But it is to be noted in this connection that if his chronology is accepted the dates of the father and son must overlap. Dr. Altekar explains away this difficulty by surmising that Poṭhasiri, pleased at the bravery of his son, allowed him to carve out a fresh kingdom for himself. Bhadramagha's rule is supposed to have lasted till c. 175 A.D. Śivamagha whose relatiohship with Bhadramagha is not quite clear reigned from c. 175 to 184. After Śivamagha, Vaiśravaṇa, son of Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala, came to the throne. Bhadrabala is supposed to have been the younger brother of Śivamagha. Vaiśravaṇa reigned from 184 to 205 A.D. Bhimavarman ruled from 205 to 230 A.D. The other Magha rulers whose exact order of succession could not be determined reigned between 230 to 275 A.D.

The frame-work of the Magha history as proposed by Dr. Altekar could however be examined afresh on the strength of the seals found from Rājghāṭ. Mr. Krishnadeva found a seal of Rājan Bhīmasena from Rājghāṭ which proves that Bhīmasena was connected besides Bāndhavargarh, Bhīṭa and Ginjā with Banaras as well. It may however be contended that it may be stray seal. But in this connection your attention may be drawn to the seals of Gautamīputra Śivamagha and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Bhīmasena found from Bhīṭa. On the strenth of the similarity of symbols on both seals some relationship is established between the two. As these seals

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

were found from the Kushāṇa level showing signs of destruction it may be surmised that either Bhīmasena or Śivamagha was responsible for it and not Bhadramagha as suggested by Dr. Altekar. In my opinion the dynasty of Bhīmasena was distinct from that of the Maghas and it was only after uprooting the dynasty of Bhīmasena that the Maghas came to power. Dr. Altekar says that as Bhīmasena was not a ruler of any consequence, Bhadramagha, son of Poṭhasiṭi, issued coins. But a coin of Bhīmasena has been found and it is so dissimilar in both fabric and symbols to Magha coins that it supports the view that Bhīmasena belonged to a separate dynasty.

I have already pointed out the proposed identification of Bhaṭṭadeva, son of Poṭhasiri, with Bhadramagha and the establishment of a separate kingdom by the latter with the permission of his father, but the overlapping of their dates stands as a serious objection to the conjecture. But all this difficulty resolves itself if we accept that the Maghas established themselves as a separate dynasty by 169 A.D. It is possible that this event had occurred before or immediately after Poṭhasiri.

The find of a seal of Kautsīputra Śivamagha, bearing typical Ándhra symbols of the bow and arrow and the trefoil arch from Rājghāṭ, raises a fresh problem in the history of the Maghas. We know that Śivamagha of the Bhīṭā seal was Gautamīputra, hence Kautsīputra Śivamagha was a different person. What relation he bore to Gautamīputra Śivamagha is not known.

It is a pertinent question as to who were the Maghas and the relation they bore to the Sātavāhanas whose symbols were adopted by Śivamagha I and II on their seals. Some light is thrown on this proplem by the later Sātavāhana history. After the close of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi's reign in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., the Sātavāhana empire disintegrated—the main line continued to rule the eastern provinces and the western and southern provinces passed to the Chuṭus, another branch of the Sātavāhanas. In these days of storm and stress when the Satavahanas were losing their grip on the eastern provinces and leaving them for occupation by the Ikshvākus of the north that one of the inscriptions from Amarāvatī mentions king Siri Śivamaka Sada or Sada (Luder's List No. 1279). Prof. Rapson (*A Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra dynasty*, p. iii) counts the possibility of Śivamaka Sata as being the same as Śiva Sātakarṇi whose coins have been found in the region of Amarāvatī. It may be suggested that Śivamaka of the Amarāvatī inscription may stand for Gautamīputra Sivamagha. That the latter was connected with the Sātavahanas is evident by the epithet Śada. There is little material to trace the progress of Śivamagha from Amarāvatī to Kauśāmbī, but something like the following must have happened. Beset with internal troubles Śivamagha must have left his homeland and proceeded to Kauśāmbī the route to which lay-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

through Mahākosala. In the capital of Mahākosala he probably met Poṭhasiri, son of Bhīmasena. The dynasty of Bhīmasena as the symbols on his seal show was also closely connected with the Sātavāhanas. One of the inscriptions of Poṭhasiri actually mentions one Magha as his Foreign Minister. Somewhere near 155 A.D., Gautamīputra Śivamagha attacked Kauśāmbi and carved out a kingdom for himself. He ruled for a short time and was probably succeeded by Bhadramagha whose inscription dated 159 A.D. has been found from Kauśāmbī. Who suceeded Bhadramagha is not certain; probably he was succeeded by Kautsīputra Śivamagha. His reign must have come to an end by 185 A. D. when the dated inscription of Vaiśravaṇa is found. It is also probable that Śivamagha of the coins is Kautsīputra Śivamagha.

The history of the Guptas has been thoroughly studied from epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources. But, unfortunately certain sources which throw important light on the life and culture of this period have been neglected by the historians. To quote an instance, the *Chaturbhāṇi* consisting of four burlesques namely *Padmaprābhritakam* by Śūdraka, *Dhūrtavita Samvāda* by Īśvaradatta, *Ubhayābhisārikā* by Vararuchi and *Pādataḍitakam* by Śyāmilaka, was published by M. R. K. Kavi and S. K. R. Sastri as early as 1922, and their value from literary, historical and sociological points of view fully recognised by such eminent scholars as Dr. F. W. Thomas, Dr. S. K. Dey and Prof. Burrow. That the burlesques do not belong to the 10th century as proposed by Dr. A. B. Keith, but to the Gupta period is fully borne out by the critical examination of the internal evidences. The name of the Gupta kings are not mentioned openly but at two places the puns are meant to allude to Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya. Thus in the *Padmaprābhritakam* (p. 22) the Rake seeing the courtezan Magadhasundarī waiting for her lover bursts forth.."Who is that fellow like Mahendra who is being invoked in this *yajna* of dalliance". In the *Ubhayābhisārikā* (p. 12) the courtezen Priyangusenā tells the Rake that she was invited to the palace of *Apratihata-śāsana Kusuma-pura-Purandara*—Kusumapura standing here for Pāṭaliputra and Purandara for Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya. In the *Pādatāḍitakam* Indravarman (p. 8), lord of Aparānta, and Rudravarman, lord of Daśera or Daśapura, are also historical characters. Indravarman is also called Indrasvāmi and Indradatta whose name appears on the coins of his son, the Traikūṭaka prince Maharaja Dharasena, whose approximate date is said to be between 288 and 456 A.D. (Rapson, *A Catalogue of the Coins* p. 197 ff). Coins of Rudravarman have also been found from Mandsor.

The main charm of the burlesques of the *Chaturbhāṇi*, however, consists in true representations of the men and their morals. Officers of the state, bankers, merchants, the so-called religious preachers, the drunkards, the courtezans and the rakes are all castigated and made fun of. The picture

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the revelling crowd, drunken and boisterous, visiting the houses of ill fame, may not appeal to our ethical standards, but there is little doubt that its realism is untramelled by conventions which are the bane of Sanskrit literature. Here we meet the living people with all their virtues and vices, their feigned religiosity and low moral code, their swagger and dandiness, laughing and joking and using a language which is called the very 'ambrosia of Sanskrit literature'. But in this welter of sexuality, gambling and drinking we find important vignettes of Indian life and character. What could be more grand than the pen-picture of Mahāpratihāra Bhadrāyudha, the lord of Kārusha-Maladas, appearing in the *Pādatāḍitakam*, who perhaps established the Gupta suzerainty in Western India. His hair tied in a top-knot, wearing white earrings made of wood, wrapping the *uttariya* round his arms and acompanied by the dandies of Lāṭa he appears before us. Seeing him the poet bursts in a laudatory verse-"Here he comes who after implanting his feet on the heads of the rulers of Aparānta, Śakas and Mālava, in the course of time returned to his mother and the Mother Gangā. thus spreading the glory of the ruling dynasty of Magadha." At another place in the same burlesque we get the picture of a contemporary law court and its working. An old rake has been drawn to the court by the mother of his beloved claiming maintenance. When questioned by Viṭa he describes the sleeping judge, the troublesome Kāyasthas, the record keepers and officers. The passage is full of technical terms employed in the law courts of the Gupta priod.

The burlesques also describe in glowing terms the capital city of Ujjayinī. The Rake in the *Padmaprābhritakam* calls Ujjayinī as the painted cheek-decoration of India and describes its markets full of goods, busy streets, the conveyances, discourses of the learned men, music, dancing, gambling, braggings of the rakes, pet birds etc. The *Ubhayābhisārikā* speaks about its tall buildings, rich crowded shops and its benevolent, educated and art loving citizens. The *Pādatāḍitakam* calls it as a headmark of India and praises its music, learning, houses of courtezans and the cosmopolitan population consisting of the Śakas, Yavanas, Tushāras, besides Indians from all over the country.

The greatness of Ujjayinī is further corroborated by the *Meghadūta* where the Cloud Messenger is advised by the Yaksha to see Ujjayinī even if it had to deviate from the regular route. Śūdraka in his *Mrichchhakaṭika* gives a living picture of the life of the city and Bāṇa in his *Kādambari* describes it in some detail. As has been pointed by Dr. V. S. Agrawala in a recent article (*Bhāratī*, Dec. 1954, pp. 502 ff) the *Brahmapurāṇa*, Chapters 43 and 44, has preserved some eye-witness account of the city. It describes the strong defences of the city, its markets and beautiful cross roads and lanes, and its lofty high palaces resonant with Vedic hymns and music and decorated with flags. Its citizens were gay and handsome

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and the women noted for their beauty, ornaments and apparels. The courtezans there were noted for accomplishment in music, dancing and drama. It had beautiful gardens, full of birds and animals and water tanks. The famous temple of Mahākāla was situated there and there were also the Vaishṇava temples of Govindasvāmin and Vikramasvāmin. The *Purāṇa* also gives a list of the artisans, which throws important light on the organization of the economic life of the city.

This greatness of Ujjayinī was due to its great commercial prosperity. The Kauśāmbī-Pratishṭhāna and the Mathurā-Pratishṭhāna routes met in Avantī, and crossing the Narmadā at Mahesar proceeded to Pratishṭhāna and the port of Bharukachchha. The city received valuable merchandise from North-Western India and Central Asia via Mathurā, and the merchants from Kāverī-paṭṭinam brought there the products of Malaya and Indonesia. It was also connected with the ancient Dantapura, the capital of Orissa, by the route passing through south Kosala and the Chedi territory.

Dr. Agrawala is of the opinion that the Vaishṇava temples of Vikramasvāmin and Govindasvāmin were built by Chandragupta II and his son Govindagupta respectively. Govindagupta, at some time of his life, seems to have been connected with Malwa as his inscription published by Sri Garde and another inscription from Deogadh show.

As I have told you already, history is not merely the record of events, it is an integrated picture of the society, the struggle of man to improve his lot both culturally and spiritually. In this struggle for existence trade and commerce played an important part as they brought surplus money without which material culture could not hope to advance. In my recent work *Sārthavāha* in Hindi I have tried to give an integrated picture of ancient Indian trade and commerce. It is the story of a continued struggle for existence in spite of heavy odds and the part played by Indian merchchants both on the land and the sea to make this country economically strong. Travel in those days was full of difficulties. Natural calamities had to be countered, robbers and wild beasts took their tolls and many unseen dangers lurked on the roads. On the sea, the frail ships met their doom in the storms; sea pirates lay in wait for them and the merchants had to meet heavy exactions of the greedy princes whose territories they covered. But unmindul of these difficulties ancient Indian merchants never for a moment thought of discontinuing their business which fostered greater cultural relations between this country and Indonesia, Indo-China, China, East African coast and to a certain extent with the Mediterranean world.

So far, however, mostly Grecian, Roman and Chinese sources have been tackled to give a picture of the Indian trade and commerce and to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

describe the itineraries of the merchants in the early centuries of the Christian era; the Indian sources being often neglected and not properly interpreted. Kauṭilya's several chapters on the road system, ports and custom duties speak of highly organised trade and commerce and the quiet efficiency of the caravan masters. In a very interesting discussion on the comparative vaue of the land and water routes Kauṭilya prefers land routes, as sea routes according to him were full of hazards. He also contradicts the view that ancient routes between Balkh and Takshaśilā appropriately called as Haimavata-mārga was best as that route only brought in horses and woolen stuffs. According to him, the southern route which bought conch shells and precious stones was preferable. From this observation it is evident that in the Mauryan period the southern route was considered to be more important from the economic point of view as it provided an outlet to the seaborne trade.

The Greek and Roman sources provide us with an important picture of the feverish trade activities of Indian ports in the early centuries of the Christian era. Unfortunately, Indian evidences pertaining to this have not yet been properly sifted and studied. As observed by Prof. Lévi the *Mahāniddesa* gives an important list of such ports. These ports extended from the Far East to the Mediterranean. In this list Gumba cannot be identified; Takkola may be same Takuopa on the Gulf of Bandon in Siam or somewhere to the south in the region of the Isthmus of Kra. Takkasilā was somewhere in the south of Chittagong on the north of Katabada river. Kālamukha probably stands for some port in lower Burma. Maraṇapára may be the Mergui islands. Vesunga was situated in the north of the Gulf of Martaban, somewhere near Pegu. Verāpatha is the same as Berabei of Ptolemy. Java is Java. Tamalim or Kamalim may stand for Tambralinga or Khmer; Vanga is Banka island. Elavaddhana may be the Satyr Islands of Ptolemy. Suvarṇabhūmi stands for Indonesia, Svarnakuḍyā may be identified with the Chinese Kin-lin situated in the west of Funan. The Indian ports start from Tāmralipti in Bengal. Sopārā and Bharukachchha on the western sea-coast are wellknown. Surāshtra may stand for the port of Dvārakā or Somanātha. The ports after Surashtra have not been identified by Prof. Lēvi, but Gangaṇa may stand for Zanjibar ad Aparagangana for the Azania sea-coast of the *Periplus*. Yona may be Greece proper and Paramayona the Asia Minor. Allasanda is Alexandria and Maru Kāntāra perhaps the desert route from the port of Barenice on the Red Sea to Alexandria.

The itinerary given by the *Mahāniddesa* is further strengthened by the information gathered from Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit literatures. Thus the *Milindapraśna* also includes in its list of ports, China which may be Canton and Kolapattana, Colchi of the *Periplus*, the modern Kolkai on the eastern coast. The MB. II. 2, 28, 44-45, mentions Sāgaradvīpa which

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

may be Sumatra, Kollagiri, and the Murachipaṭṭana, MB. 2. 27, 45, the famous Muziris of the *Periplus*, identified with Crangnore. The MB. II. 27, 49 also mentions Antākhī or Antioch and Yavanapura or Alexandria. The voyages of Sanudāsa in the *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* started from Chīnasthāna and passed the ports of Kamlapura or Khmer, Java, Simhala, Paśchima Barbara or port Barbaricum on the mouth of the Indus in Sindh.

All these mention of ports in Indian sources prove that though historical works in the early centuries of the Christian era are lacking, nevertheless Indian merchants had the knowledge of the ports through which the bulk of Indian trade was carried.

Gentlemen, there are many other topics pertaining to ancient India about which I would have liked to talk to you, but time precludes me from doing so. I thank you for the patient hearing you have given to me.

NAGARA-ŚRESHṬHIN

Dr. D. C. Sircar

It is well known to the students of Indian epigraphy that four Gupta inscriptions from Damodarpur in the old Dinajpur District of North Bengal mention at the same time the reigning Gupta emperor (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*), his *Uparika* (viceroy usually enjoying the title *Mahārāja*) in the *Bhukti* (province) of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal), and the officer in charge of the *Vishaya* (district) of Koṭivarsha (Dinajpur region) who enjoyed an official rank or designation like *Kumār-āmātya* (officer of the rank of a prince of the royal blood), *Āyuktaka* (administrative officer) or *Vishayapati* (governor of a district) and obtained his post not from the crown but from the viceroy. [1] The seal of three of these documents is lost; but the extant seal attached to one of them bears the inscription: *Kotivarshadhishṭhan-ādhikaraṇasya*, i.e. 'the seal of the *Adhikaraṇa* (court and office of non-military administration) of the *Adhishṭhāna* (city) of Koṭivarsha (headquarters of the district of that name)',[2] While the business of the *Adhishthān-ādhikaraṇa* is stated in the records to have been conducted or transacted (cf. *samvyavaharati*) by a group of four persons entitled (1) *Nagara-śreshṭhin* or *Ārya-Nagaraśreshṭhin*, (2) *Sārthavāha*, (3) (3) *Prathama-Kulika*, and (4) *Prathama-Kāyastha*. Among other epigraphs of the same age, the Paharpur plate[3] records an order of the *Āyuktaka* or

1. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 130 f.; 133f.; 138 f.; 142 f.; Select Inscriptions, pp. 283 ff.; 285 ff.; 328 ff.; 337 ff.

2. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, op. ci., pp. 142; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 337.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 346 ff.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Āyuktakas stationed at Puṇḍravardhana (headquarters of the province of the same name) and the *Adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* headed by the *Ārya-Nagara-śreshṭhin*, while the Baigram plate[1] records the order of a *Kumārāmātya*, stationed at Pañchanagarī, and the *Adhikaraṇa* of the *Vishaya*. The Kalaipuri plate[2] similarly contains an order of the *Āyuktaka*, stationed at Pūrṇakauśikā in the Śringavera *Vīthī* (sub-division) and the *Adhikaraṇa* apparently of the *Vīthī* in question. There are numerous other cases of the mention of the *Adhikaraṇa* (rarely referred to as *Karaṇa*) of an area, although the functionaries constituting such *Adhikaraṇas* are not specifically mentioned as in some of the cases referred to above.

The meaning of the designation of the *Nagara-śreshṭhin* (*Ārya-Nagara-śreshṭhin*) and his three colleagues and their function have been the subject of speculation. Dr. R.G. Basak who edited the Damodarpur inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, thinks that "the *Vishayapati* as the head of the *Vishaya* was aided in his administrative work by a Board of Advisers, which seems to have been constituted by four members representing the different interests of those day, viz., (1) the *Nagaraśresṭhin* representing the various guilds or corporations of the town or the rich urban population, (2) the *Sārthavāha* (the chief merchant) representing the various trade-guilds and other merchantile professions of the *Vishaya*, (3) the *Prathama-Kulika* (the chief artisan) representing the craft guids, and (4) the *Prathama-Kāyastha* (the chief scribe) representing either the *Kāyasthas* as a class or acting as a State official in the capacity of the Chief Secretary of the present day."[3] Elsewhere the same scholar speaks of the Board of Advisers as having aided the *Vishayapatis* of Koṭivarsha in the administrative work of the *Vishayādhikaraṇa*[4] and having been formed by the four members, "(1) the *Nagaraśreshṭhin* (the President of the town-guid of bankers), (2) the *Prathama-Sārthavāha*[5] (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the *Prathama-Kulika* (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the *Prathama-Kāyastha* (probably the chief scribe, the head of the government officials)."[6]

In his *Hindu Revenue System* Dr. U. N. Ghoshal also says that the district officer was "carrying on the administration of the district town. (*Adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa*) with a guild-president, the leading merchant, the leading banker and the leading scribe at the top."[7] As regarda the ex-

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 91 f.; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 342 ff.
2. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 12 ff.
3. *History of North-Eastern India*, pp. 309-310.
4. The Damodarpur inscriptions speak of the *Adhishthan-adhikarana* although the jurisdiction of the functionaries in question may have spread over an area much wider than the *Adhishthana*.
5. We have *Sarthavaha* and not *Prathama-Sarthavaha* in the inscriptions.
6. *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 56.
7. Op. ci., p. 202.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

pression *Adhishṭhāna-ādhikaraṇa*, he points out that it "has been variously interpreted to mean 'an administrative board of the district' (R.G. Basak), 'the royal tribunal in a city' (R.C. Majumdar), and, with less justification, as 'the office and probably the court of a district officer' and 'a secretariat and advisory council' (Beni Prasad)."[1] Dr. Ghoshal then draws our attention to the famous trial scene of the *Mrichchhahaṭika* which "refers to the king's judges (called *Adhikaraṇikas* and *Adhikaraṇa-bhojakas*) sitting in the court-house (*Adhikaraṇa-maṇḍapa*), who are assisted by the guild-president (*Śreshṭhin*), the scribes (*Kāyasthas*) and so forth"[2] and concludes, "If it be supposed that the *Adhikaraṇa* of the drama represents the loosely organised institution of earlier times, that of the Gupta empire would be a development of the same with a well-defined organisation and with the addition of administrative functions as well. The reversion of the Gupta institution to the type of administrative boards described by Megasthenes for the Maurya empire is no doubt a witness to the enduring influence of the popular Panchayats."[3] The subject has also been discussed in some other publications,[4] although the real nature of the administrative institution referred to in the incriptions discussed above still remains shrouded in mystery.

In this connection, the attention of scholars may be drawn to what James Tod says about the Pañchāyat system prevalent in Rajputana in the first half of the ninteenth century. On this "self-instituted tribunal", Tod observes, "Besides the resident ruler of the district, who was also a judicial functionary, there was....a special officer of the government in each frontier Thana or garrison post. He united the triple occupation of embodying the quotas, levying the transit duties and administering justice, in which he was aided at the Chabutra or court, by assembling the Chauthias or assessors of justice. Each town and village has its Chauthia, the members of which are elected by their fellow citizens, and remain as long as they conduct themselves impartially in disentangling the intricacies of complaints preferred to them. They are the aids to the Nagarseth or chief magistrate, an hereditary office in every large city in Rajasthan. Of this Chauthia, the Patel (headman)[5] and Patwari (accountant)[6] are

1. Ibid., p. 203.

2. The *Mrichchhakatika* speaks of one *Adhikaranika* who was assisted in deciding the case by one *Sreshthin* and one *Kayastha*.

3. Op. ci., pp. 203-04.

4. Cf. *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 266 ff.

5. According to Wilson's *Glossary*, the Patel is "the headman of a village who has the general control and management of the village affairs, is head of the police, and exercises, to a limited extent, the functions of a magistrate; he is also the principal agent in the realization of the revenue, and the chief medium of communication with the officers of the government."

6. According to Wilson, the Patwari is "a village accountant, whose duty it is to keep and to produce, when required by the government revenue officers, all accounts relating to lands, produce, cultivation, changes, and past assessment of a village."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

generally members ....these are the special and fixed council of each town; the general Panchayata are formed from the respectable population at large and were formerly from all classes of society. The Chabutras or terraces of justice, were always established in the Khalisa or crown demesne."[1] The Chauthias are described as "the town-magistrates" and it is further said, "In every town there is an unpaid magistracy, of which the head is the Nagarseth or chief citizen, and the four Chauthias, tantamount to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who hold their courts and decide in all civil cases."[2] According to Tod, most of the Nagarseths of Rajasthan in the first half of the ninteenth century were Jains.[3]

This institution of unpaid magistracy, viz. the Chauthia or council of four members including the Patel and Patwari and headed by the Nagarseth, as prevalent in Rajputana and described by Tod, may be compared with both the council of two, viz. the *Śreshṭhin* and *Kāyastha*, headed by the *Adhikaraṇika* as known from the *Mrichchhakaṭika*, and the council of three, viz. the *Sārthavāha*, *Prathama-Kulika* and *Prathama-Kāyastha*, headed by the *Nagara-śreshṭhin* as found in the inscriptions referred to above. The resemblance among the said three councils is significant and, in our opinion, they are essentially the same institution. In the first place, the same designation. viz. *Nagarseth=Nagaraśreshṭhin*, is applied to the president of two out of the three councils discussed above, although in one case he is called the *Adhikaraṇika* or 'head of the *Adhikaraṇa* or nor-military administrative organisation'. Secondly, the *Kāyastha=Prathama-Kāyastha*, no doubt the same as the Patwari of later times, figures in all the three councils. Thirdly, the representation of the mercantile class on the council is suggested by the mention of the *Śreshṭhin* in the *Mrichchhakaṭika* and the *Sārthavāha* in the inscriptions, although we are not quite sure whether a merchant also figured in the Chauthia of Rajputana.

The importance of the *Nagaraśreshṭhin* in the council of the Gupta period seems to be clearly indicated by the epithet *ārya* often applied to him. There is absolutely nothing in the inscriptions to show that the *Nagara-śreshṭhin* and his colleagues formed a board of advisers or helpers to the governor of a district. On the other hand it is clearly stated that it was they that conducted the non-military administration of the *Adhikaraṇa* of a city and often of a wider area under the jurisdiction of the city in question, although they must have been subordinate to the governor. There is again no proof that the *Nagaraśreshṭhin* represented the interests of certain guilds or corporations or of the rich urban population as has been supposed by some writes.

1. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. William Crooke, Vol. I. p 171, Calcutta ed., Vol. I, pp. 157-58.
2. Ibid., Crooke's ed., Vol. I, p. 231.
3. Ibid., Vol II, p. 682.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRATIHARA RULERS OF MANDOR AND THOSE OF BROACH

DR. BAIJ NATH PURI

Inscriptions bring to light the existence of a line of Chiefs, who were feudatories to some power, ruling at Broach. The records assign only feudatory titles to these Gurjara rulers: Dadda I and Dadda II are styled *Sāmanta,* while Jayabhaṭa I is given the higher epithet *Mahāsāmantādhipati* 'the lord of the great barons. The other titles *Sāmadhigatapañcamahāśabda* meaning who 'has obtained the five mahāśabdas' also suggest the feudatory character of the ruler. The same epithet is also given to the Mahārājādhirāja Dadda II–Praśāntarāga in the Umeta[1] Bagumra[2] and Ila[3] plates from which it may be inferred that, despite the use of the high sounding titles, he obeyed, or had obeyed sometime, or another, a paramount sovereign. An idea about the territory under his possession can be had from a perusal of the places mentioned in the records, as well as from the find-spots of the inscriptions. Thus the Kaira Plates[4] of Gurjara DaddaII–the earliest record dated in the year 380 (of the Kalacuri era), and issued from Nandipur records grants to Brāhmanas of the village of śirishapadraka in the Akrureśvara village which is rightly identified by Buhler[5] with Ankleśvara the chief town of the Ankalesvara taluka in the Broach district. Sirishapadraka is the modern Sisodra, about 10 miles south of Anklesvara between the rivers Kim and the Narmadā. Nandipuri, the place from where the two Kaira charters were issued, has been identified by Bhagwanlal Indraji[6] with the modern Nandod, the chief town of the Rajpipla state. Buhler suggests[7] its identification with an ancient fort of the same name which stood outsides the Jhadeśvara gate on the east of the town of Broach. Another plate of the time of Dadda II was issued from Sankheda[8] in the Baroda State. Of the records of the time of Jayabhaṭa III, a copper plate charter found at Nausari[9] in the Baroda State was issued from the camp at Kāvyāvatāra, and registers grant to a Brāhmaṇa of some land in the village of Sampad-

1. I. A. Vol. VII, pp. 63ff.
2. I. A. Vol. XVII, pp. 199ff.
3. I. A. Vol. XIII, pp. 166ff.
4. Ibid, pp. 12ff.
5. I. A. Vol. V, p. 113.
6. I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 73.
7. I. A. Vol. VII, p. 62.
8. E. I. Vol. II, p. 21.
9. I. A. Vol. XIII, pp. 70ff.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

raka in the Korilla Pathaka. According to Buhler[1] once again, Kāvyāvatāra is propably the modern Karvan, about 15 miles south of Baroda, and Korila is modern Koral on the north bank of the Narmadā, 16 mile to the north east east of Broach. The Kavi plates[2] convey the grant to a temple of the god Āśramadeva of some land in the village of Kammaju in the Bharukacchaya Vishaya. Kammahu is identified with modern Kimoj or Kimaj in the Jambusar taluka of the Broach district, about 5 miles to the south of the river Mahi.

According to Fleet[3] these records cover the country from the north bank of the river Kim to the south bank of the Mahī, showing the extent of the Gurjara territory in the neighbourhood of the coast, and extending inland to the western Ghats. It was contiguous to the Lāṭa Province of the kingdom of the Western Chālukyas of Badami in the south, with the river Kim as the boundary line; on the north across the Mahī was the Khaitakahāra Province—the modern Kaira district in the Cambay Sate and some outlying parts which belonged to the ruler of Valabhi. It is suggested by Buhler[4] that the Broach kingdom included according to the testimony of the inscriptions, the whole of the Central Gujrat, the talukas of Olpad, as well as the adjoining parts of Baroda State, of the Revakantha, and of Sachin. Its northern frontier was probably the river Mahī, and the southern one the river Ambikā. The demarcation of the boundaries of this Gurjara feudatory kingdom makes it contiguous to the main Gurjara Kingdom in the north, Valabhi in the west, Lāṭa in the south, and the Chālukyas in the east. Now we may trace the relation between the two Gurjara families.

It is suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar[5] endorsing the earlier views of Buhler[6] that the Gurjaras of Broach were vassals of the Gurjaras of Bhinmal. It is, however, clear from the Gurjara records that Dadda I was of the race of the Gurjara kings (*Gurjara-nripavamśa*), but he and his descendants are also referred to as Sāmantas or feudatories. It is proposed by Majumdar that after Harichandra had carved out a principality for himself in Gurjarātra and the neighbouring country, the nomadic habits of the tribe led them further south till they conquered a fair portion of the Lāṭa. The necessity of preserving their own against the rising power of the Chālukyas probably led to the foundation of a feudatory state in the northern province under Dadda, the younger brother of the ruling king Rajjila. He has cited instances like these furnished by the history of the Chālukya and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

1. Ref. cit.
2. I. A. Vol. V, pp. 109ff.
3. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 312.
4. I. A. Vol. XVII, P. 193.
5. E. I. Vol. XVIII, p. 91.
6. I. A. Vol. XVII, p. 194.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

While making this suggestion Dr. Majumdar seems to have lost sight of several important facts. Firstly, the inscriptions of Harichandra family are dated in the Vikrama era and not in the Kalachuri era in which the inscriptions of the Broach rulers are dated. Secondly he had not taken into account the Kalachuri rulers Śankaragaṇa, son of Krishṇarāja, and his son Buddharāja whose records are dated in the years 347, 360, and 361 respectively at Abhona[1] (Nasik dist), Vadner[2] (Nasik dist), and Sarsavni[3] (Baroda State). These dates correspond to A.D. 595, 608, and 609 respectively. If Dadda had set up a kingdom for himself, being sent from the north, there should have been a reference to the clash with those Kalachuri rulers, but unfortunately there is none. On the other hand the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription[4] of Mangaleśa, speaking of the Kalachuris by the alternate form Kalatasuri, records that these people were conquered by him in the course of an expedition to the north, and the king ruling at that time was Buddha. The victory over Buddha or Buddharāja is also referred to in Mangaleśa's copper plate grant from Nerur[5] which mentions Buddha's father Śankaragaṇa as well. It appears that the Kalachuris or Katachuris were the overlords, and the Gurjaras of Broach were their feudatories, till the former were conquered by the Chālukyas of Badāmī. It is suggested by Fleet[6] that Mangaleśa must have acquired a considerable territory, extending from the Konkan up to the river Kim, atleast, which was the northern boundary of the Lāṭa country, and perhaps even up to Mahī. The country between the Kim and the Mahī belonged to the Gurjara princes, and they continued to be in possession of it as feudatories despite the change in overlordship. It was not included in the Lāṭa province, as the distance might have prompted the Chalukya ruler to let the status quo continue.

The Kaira Plates[7] dated in the years 380 and 385, of the Gurjara Dadda II (Praśāntarāga) give a genaelogical list showing that Dadda II was preceded by his father Jayabhaṭa I (Vītarāga) and grandfather Sāmanta Dadda I who had uprooted the Nāgas. If we roughly allot twenty years per generation, Dadda I can be placed as a feudatory in about 340 of the Kalachuri era, and it is quite possible that he was a sāmanta of Krishṇarāja, the Kalachuri ruler, and his son Jayabhaṭa I that of Śankaragaṇa, and the latter might have continued in the time of Buddharāja as well. With the change of power the allegiance of the Gurjara family

1. E. I. Vol. IX, pp. 297ff.
2. Ibid. Vol. XII, pp. 33ff.
3. Ibid. Vol. VI; pp. 297ff.
4. I. A. Vol. XIX, pp. 16ff.
5. I. A. Vol. VII. pp 161ff.
6. Ref. cit.
7. I. A. Vol. XIII, pp. 82ff.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

passed on to the Chālukyas. Their hold over the territory occupied by the Gurjaras of Broach is also evident from the Kaira—now Royal Asiatic Society Plates[1]—of the Gujrat Chālukyas Vijayaraja, issued from Vijayapura, and dated in the Kalachuri year 394.

Further, the Nausari Plates of Gurjara Jayabhaṭa III, issued from Kavyāvatāra, refer to Dadda II protecting a lord of Valabhī who had been defeated by Harshadeva (evidently Harshavardhana). On this point Dr. Majumdar presumes[2] that 'everything would be clear if it is admitted that Broach was a feudatory state of the dynasty of Harichandra and remember its hereditary enemity with the Royal house of Thaneshwar'. While making this suggestion he seems to lay more emphasis on an event unconnected with the time, and he ignores an imporatnt factor concerning the relation between the two houses—namely the struggle for supremacy between Harsha and Pulakeśin. It is very probable that when Harsha pressed on Valabhī, the ruler had no option but to move south-east through Cambay, and seek protection from the feudatory of this strong ruler of the south, Dhruvasena enjoyed the hospitality of this Gurjara chief, as we find him issuing charters from his camp at Bharykaccha[3] i. e. Broach, from which it is inferred that the Gurjara territory then belonged, for a time at least, to the kingdom of Valabhī. Fleet rightly presumes[4] that, as the villages that were granted lay not in the Gurjara territory but in the Khetakahāra Vishaya, the grants might have been made while Dhruvasena was enjoying the hospitality of Dadda after his defeat by Harshavardhana. We are not concerned at present with the history of the Gurjara family of Broach at length, but we might notice a fact. A Gurjara record[5] of A. D. 706 (Nausari Copper Plate of 456) speaks of Dadda III as waging war with the kings of the east and the west—meaning, according to Fleet, the ruler of Valabhī in the latter case, and either the western Chālukyas or some ruler of Malwa in the former case. Another record[6] of A.D. 736 suggests that Jayabhata III quieted in battle the impetuosity of the king of Valabhī. The Gurjara power at Broach, however, shortly afterwards came to an end. The Nausari grant[7] of A.D. 738 informs us that there had been an invasion by the Tajikas or Arabs in which the Gurjaras were destroyed.

The records, noticed above, leave little evidence to presume that Dadda

1. I. A. Vol. VII, pp. 248 ff.
2. Ref. Cit. p. 92.
3. I. A. Vol. VII, p. 73; Vol. XV, p. 356.
4. Ref. Cit. P. 316.
5. I. A. Vol. XIII, P. 80.
6. I. A. Vol. V, pp. 114ff.
7. Proceedings, Seventh International Congress of Orientalists. (Aryan section. pp. 230 ff).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I of the Broach line was a son of Harichandra who sent him from the north to carve out this territory which was to serve as a buffer state. It is quite probable that this Dadda might have come from Bhinmal but he and his successors first served as feudatories to the Katachuris or Kalachuris, and then they passed on their allegiance to the Chālukyas, till their kingdom was over run by the Arab invasion. The Chālukya ruler Pulakeśirāja averted the danger caused by the intrusion of the Arabs when they came to reduce the Navasarika country. The Chālukya ruler absorbed the Broach the kingdom and finally extended his empire up to the river Kim or even as far as Mahī.

STATE COMMUNICATIONS AND DESPATCHES IN CENTRAL ASIA

Shri R. C. Agrawala, M. A.

The discovery of about 800 documents[1] on wood[2] silk, leather and paper from certain central Asian[3] sites (such as Niya, Endere and Loulan) has opened in a new vista in the history of those regions in the early centuries after the death of Christ. These records written in *Kharosthi* script and Pālī language, are a store-house of information regarding official messages and communications exchanged between the king and the high officials of the state. These official letters help us in having a vivid view of the political and administrative conditions of the time. In those good old days of political upheaval and unsafety the king urged the governors of the provinces to maintain peace and tranquility in the realm. Ambassadors were to be deputed with a view to maintain friendly relations with neighbouring states. The constant fear of the invaders too demanded very prompt postal service. It was also essential to collect state revenues (including land-taxes etc.) on behalf of the king. Royal injunctions were usually issued to the *Cojhbos*, the magistrates and other high ranking persons connected with state administration (cf. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 1908, Oxford, p. 364).

1. 764 have been published in 3 volumes of *KI*, while 18 more in BSOS, IX, pp. 111-25.

2. Documents on wood are of varying shapes and sizes, most prominent being the wedge-shaped and the Rectangular tablets.

3. Then included in the Shan Shan kingdom.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I Letters of Command

(i) The documents under review refer to varying forms of Letters[1] of Command or Injunction such as :—

(*a*) *anati*[2] *lekha, anadi lekha, amnati lekha, anada*[3] *lekha* etc. Such letters, corresponding to *ajñapti-lekhas* or *ajñā-patras* of ancient Indian literature, were usually addressed to the feudatories, high or low officers like the Warden of Marches (P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstras*, Poona, III, pp. 310, 977; Monier Williams. *A Skt. English Dictionary*, 1899. Oxford, p. 133).

(*b*) *Anati kilamumdra* (or *kilamumtra*), *anadi kilamudra*—all denote royal command in shape of Sealed Wedge tablets (*Skt. kīla mudrā*[4]).

(ii) A. Stein even thinks that *anadi lekha* means "an injunction or rescript specially used for official orders recorded on leather" (*Ancient Khotan, op. cit.*, p. 368). Sometimes royal commands were written in shape of documents too (Cf. *anada lekha pravamnaga*[5] *likhidama*).

(iii) The urgency of a particular moment demanded the drafting of letters of command with every possible detail. Hence letters giving full details were also issued (no.4—*imade livi vistarena anatilekha gata*). In no. 310 we notice a letter being sent through a secret agent (*cara purusa*). Sometimes certain high officers proved negligent in discharging their duties. Under such circumstances, the king had to send the sealed wedge tablets more than once (no. 262—*eda paceya dviti vara imade anati kila—mumtra atra gacchati*)

1. *Lekha*, a Skt. word, has rightly been used in the sense of a "letter".
2. *Anati dita* = "has been ordered". Cf. *Anati, anatiyena, anadiyena* etc.
3. BSOS, XI, p. 779.
4. Cf. Thomas in *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 52.
5. Consult F. W. Thomas (JRAS, 1927, pp. 123-4) and T. Burrow (*Trans*, p. 15, note of no. 72) for the interpretations of the word.

ABBREVIATIONS USED:—

I. No. or KI, I-II-III	= Rapson, *Kharosti Inscriptions discovered by Sir A. Stein in Ch. Turkistan*, Oxford, vols. I, II, III (Text only)
II. Trans	= Burrow. T, *A Translation of Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkistan*, (1940), London
III. Language	= Burrow. T. *The Language of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkistan*, (1937), Cambridge.
IV. BSOS	= Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African studies, University of London.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(iv) The style of drafting these official letters is very interesting indeed. The name of an addressee[1] was written on the covering tablet forming the upper portion of the wedge shaped tablet (Cf. *Cojhbo Tamja-kasa dadavya* in no. 1).

The actual text of the letter begins with the common phrase *mahanuava maharaya likati* which is followed by the name of the officer addressed. Then comes the phrase *sa ca* preceding the actual subject matter of the communication:—
mahanuava maharaya lihati cojhbo Tamjakasa matra[2] *deti sa ca* in document no. 1. Sometimes *sa ca* is preceded by a still more comprehensive phrase as *evem ca janamda bhavidvya yo likhami* (Cf. no. 634 where *avi yo* in place of *sa ca*) ie. "His Majesty the Great king writes and gives instructions (to *cojhbo Somjaka*) and so you must know what I write"

Whenever the king felt the necessity of reminding a careless officer of his previous royal injuctions, the former specifically made reference to the same in a flowery style (ie. doc. no. 4 *mahanuava maharaya .....mamtra deti, sa ca imade livi vistarena anati lekha gata* preceding the specific instructions to be followed by the addressee (Cf. also no, 310—*parāri varsammi Sugitayasa hastami kīla mumdra huati*). The particular officer kept on sleeping over several communications received from the side of the king. The latter, after making reference to all his letters, threatened that particular official that careful enquiry would be held in that matter (no. 310 *ahuno iśa anada pruchidaga huda*). The kings did not even hesitate in enumerating all the points of carelessness one by one as in (no. 376):—

(i) *na viñati lekha prahidesi*
(ii) *bili karya* (ie. the second point).....
(iii) *triti karya*.....
(iv) *caturtha karya*.....

(v) A somewhat similar reference to a note of warning was issued by a king's son. A certain disobedient *Vasu* was addressed in the following language (no. 634):—*maharayaputra kāla Puñabala lihati vasu Sagayasa mamtra deti janamta bhavitavyo lihami avi yo "dve trevara imade lekha atra presemi tahi iśa ajakra divasa iśa na agachiśatu taha suṭha alpa pumñika na vaṭesi*[3] *—Yahi atra cita na kariśyatu taha mamnasammi hutu*[4]"

1. Also *madra deti* (no. 18); Cf. *samdesa* (no. 84 note 3); *Trans.*, p. 17 n.
2. ie. namely. It is possibly the same as Vedic *sa ca* (*Language*, p. 128)
3. Cf. *Trans*, p. 31 note.
4. ie. "I have sent a letter twice or thrice asking you to pay us a visit but you have not turned up so far. *You are a man of little merit, a procrastinator.—If you do not pay attention to this matter, have a care*" (*Trans, p.*).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(vi) The kings also took great interest in forwarding judicial cases (concerning private complaints) to lower courts including those of their provincial governors etc. The latter were to decide the cases according to the law (*dhamena*) or according to the law of the realm (*raja dhamena*) or according to the former law (*purvika*). A particular matter was to be investigated with due care before any decision could take place (*eda vivada samuha anada prochidavo yatha dhamena niche kartavo*, no. 1; Cf. *eda kilamudra atra eśati praṭha eda vivada śavathena sachiyena yatha dhamena pruchidavo*, no. 21). In case the particular judicial officer was not clear about a particular dispute in question, the alleged culprits were required to be sent in proper custody to king's court[1]. Sometimes the purpose could be served only by letters recording sworn testimony, affadavits etc. There was no need of despatching the alleged culprits in police custody[2]. Sir A. Stein (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 367) was justified in saying that "official custom knew also a style far less ornate is amply shown by the business-like and peremptory tone adopted in some of the wedgeshaped tablets, ordering submission of affadavits according to a specified list, the production of certain witness, arrest of certain individuals etc."

(vii) The following contents of *anati lekhas* are thus to be marked with great interest:—

(*a*) Escort or transport to be supplied to state messangers.

(*b*) Local and careful enquiries to be conducted in matters pertaining to the complaints of the bearer, Disposal of cases acording to law, sworn testimony etc.

(*c*) Messanger's claim for compensation arising out of journey undertaken for state business.

(*d*) Immediate arrest and transmission to the issuing officer of certain fugitives wanted for judicial trial.

(*e*) Pointing out the negligence of careless officers and urging a speedy compliance of royal command. Instruction to the officers to be vigilant and active.

(*f*) Collection of taxes, their despatch and storage.

(*g*) Despatch of animals, men, corn etc.

(*h*) Settling down of people at a certain place.

(*i*) Keeping the king informed of the movements of invaders etc.

1. ie. *Atra na paribujisatu hastagada isa visajidavya* (no. 1)
2. *Adra na paribujisatu sachiyena savathena lekha (hara hastammi) isa vimnati-lekha prahadavo isemi samuha niche bhavisyati* (doc. no. 21.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

II. Letters from King's Sons

Reference to a reminder from a king's son has already been made above. Sometimes the persons of royal lineage became more courteous in tone and did not hesitate in sending wishes of good health (*maharaya putra kāla Pumñabala lihati, vasu Sagimcyasa arogiyo preseti, janamda bhavidavyo yo lihami yam ca*—no. 622; Cf. a still more courteous phraseology[1] in a despatch to *mahācojhbo* Somjaka:—*priya darśanasa yogyadivyavarsa śadayu pramanasa pratyacha devatasa mahācojhbo Somjakasa arogi preseti bahu aprameyo tena ca ajhimatra samdemi yo tahi paride aroga—vartamana śrudemi aham ca arogemi śrutva sada bhavidavya evam ca sa ca*—no. 307. It is evident from the above documents that honorific titles and addresses were associated with persons of high lineage etc. On the other hand, ordinary people were simply addressed by their names. No epithet as such preceded their names (cf. no. 450—*lihati Kroae Lugasa ca arogi preseyati bahu apramego evam ca sa*).

III Letters of Information or Report

In times of political upheaval and impending attack from the side of invaders, it was extremely essential to communicate secret information through *vinati*[2] (or *vimñati* or *vimñadi*) *lekhas* perhaps corresponding to *Prāvrittika* letters despatched for similar purposes (*Kauṭalyāarthāśāstra*m as cited by P. V. Kane, *Op. cit.*, p. 319). The Khotanese and the Iranian literature too refers to letters of information (Cf. BSOS, IX, p. 531).

Sometimes it so happened that a senior officer even instructed his subordinates to keep him informed of the royal messages received during his absence.[3] The latter, in compliance of his boss, informed his officer in the following manner (no. 663) :—"We are also well here and thus I report. According to your instruction from there; that whatever news should come from the capital, I should keep you informed; there has now been received a wedgetablet from capital about the wine. It gives instructions as follows————This is the wedge-tablet of 9th month. On the 5th a tablet from the capital————".

An officer posted at *Saca* (a locality name) is being instructed to be careful and to convey information about Khotan regin etc., (no. 578) :—"There is every reason to be afraid of the Supis[4]. You must not be slack.

1 Cf. my article in I. H. Q., March 54, pp. 50-6

2. A communication or report = Skt. *suchana, Vritta* etc. According to Monier Williams (*Op. cit.*, p. 961) *Vijnapti* means "information, report, address to superior request" etc. Among the *Svetambra* Jaina Community, the term *Vijnapti patras* bears a special meaning of an epistle sent on the *paryusana*. For details consult Dr. L. D. Barnett's paper in BSOS, XI, p. 228.

3. Perhaps the Senior Officer was on official tour.

4. Some nomadic tribe. Shanshan kingdom was very much overawed because of impending attacks from their side.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Watch is to be maintained in Saca continuously. Whatever news comes from Khotan, that must be conveyed. Also it is essential to convey whatever the message is received from the king's court or about the Supis" etc.

It is really amazing to find the utter absence of any letter exchanged between the royal authority and the persons of ordinary strata. But that does not mean that the king had no love for his people. We do find some references to royal awards in favour of the slaves and the fugitives. Not only that a king even instructed his governor to be very kind to the people living under his sway. Cruelty to the citizens was not tolerated in anyway. Officers showing discourteous attitude were to be severely dealt with.

This is in nutshell a short account of some of the official communications available in shape of *Kharosṭhī* documents from Chinese Tukestan.

GUJARRA ROCK EDICT
OR
A NEWLY DISCOVERED ROCK EDICT OF ASOKA

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra

Often the circumstances leading to an archaeological discovery are as interesting as the thing discovered is important. A narrative thereof, besides being a permanent record, imparts incentive to others to be on the look out for more objects of similar nature. It will, therefore, not be out of place here to talk in some detail the story of how the present rock edict was brought to light, before we describe the object itself.

News is Received

On the morning of November 30, 1953, I received, in my office at the Curzon Road, New Delhi, a visit from two gentlemen. One of them introduced himself to me as Mr. Lal Chand Sharma, a forest contractor of Jhansi, and his associate as one Mr. E. N. Robinson, a resident of New Delhi itself, a transport agent by profession. The former placed two small photographs in my hand and said: "I am told, you can read old inscriptions. Can you read this for me?" While I was engaged in peering at the minute and indistinct letters that I could discern on the photoprints, Mr. Sharma continued: "I am fond of hunting. And once, while out a hunting, I came upon this rock. The engraving on it roused my curiousity, and I took a couple of snapshots of it." Without giving me a chance to utter a word in reply, he added: "Of course, the letters have not come out clear on the photograph, but they look like this." So saying, he placed a piece of paper in my hand, which contained

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

an eye-copy of some portions of the rock inscription. The eye-copy was evidently made by Mr. Lal Chand Sharma himself from the original rock.

On my part, the very first glance on the photographs, however indistinct they were, enabled me to recognise the writing on the rock as Asokan Brahmi. I was naturally thrilled with joy at the prospect of this fresh discovery of great historical importance. Being no longer able to suppress my joy, I interrupted Mr. Sharma and asked him whether he succeed in bagging a panther or a tiger during his search for a game. And not waiting for reply, I hastily added: "Never mind Mr. Sharma! Even if you did not get any other game; in this inscribed rock you have hunted out something which is far superior and which may bring more to you than the killing of wild beast could possibly do." At this pronouncement of mine, Mr. Sharma and his companion were *bisibly* mystified.

Efforts are Made

That morning's pleasantries ended in a sort of an agreement to the effect that Mr. Lal Chand Sharma would lead me to the rock in question, which according to him, lay in a thick jungle, about 12 miles from Jhansi. He would show me not only that rock, but also many other antiquities even of greater value. But I was soon disillusioned. It became apparent that Mr. Sharma was convinced at heart that the inscription gave a clue to a hidden treasure. I later came to know that this conviction of his was shared by his two brothers, one elder and one younger than himself, Mr. Jamji Sharma and Mr. Lakhpat Ram Sharma respectively. The last named is the Municipal Commissioner of Jhansi. I tried in vain to disabuse them of the hidden-treasure notion. They were all politeness and would gladly show me the rock only if I agreed to their terms, one of which naturally was that a substantial portion of the treasure when brought to light would go to them. It was no use arguing that no inscription of the kind to my knowledge led to the discovery of a hidden treasure, but that the old inscription itself to us historians was a big treasure. Anyway, negotiations continued and efforts proved of no ayail, until, after a time-lag of full one year, the situation changed.

Success Comes

Success came, as success often comes, all of a sudden. I had gone on a three-week tour to South India, and on my return to New Delhi on the night of November 21, 1954, I found, among the letters that awaited my arrival at home, a telegram from Mr. Lakhpat Ram Sharma, the Municipal Commissioner, and his brother, Mr. Lal Chand Sharma, of Jhansi, which reads: REACH FIFTEENTH NIGHT SEE SAMRAT ASHOK PILLAR TERMS SETTLED WITH COLLECTOR IN CHARGE HE WILL ACCOMPANY US SIXTEENTH MORNING. The telegram was followed by a letter signed by the two brothers. The letter

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was also found in the accumulated post. Evidently, the newly appointed Collector-in-Charge (Commissioner of Bundelkhand Division) of Jhansi, Mr. J. S. Lall, I. C. S., had taken a personal interest in the matter and had prevailed upon the Sharma brothers to show the inscribed rock to us. The telegram was dated the 13th November 1954 and the contemplated visit to the rock was to come off on the 15th November 1954. The visit did take place, but I had to miss the chance. The Collector-in-Charge visited the site in company with the two Sharma brothers who announced the visit and the discovery in some daily papers. This first announcement, however, did not shed any light as to the exact location of the rock or the contents of the inscription engraved on it. Meanwhile, Mr. J. S. Lall, the Collector-in-Charge of Jhansi, moved the Government machinery, calling upon the Central Department of Archaeology to depute its experts to inspect the rock and do the needful. Consequently I had the privilege to lead an archaeological excursion to the inscribed rock.

Archaeological Excursion

A day was appointed and all arrangements made. I left New Delhi for Jhansi on the morning of December 4, 1954. On the way, Dr. K. N. Puri, Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Northern Circle, Agra, joined me at Agra. We both arrived at Jhansi the same afternoon and were received by the two Sharma brothers as well as by Mr. J. S. Lall. It was decided that we would spend the night at Jhansi itself and proceed to the spot next moning.

The exact spot lay actually, not in the Jhansi District of Uttar Pradesh but in the Datia District, formerly Datia State of Vindhya Pradesh. We had therefore to contact the District authorities of Datia before proceeding to the site. Mr. Lall had kindly arranged everything for us beforehand with the D.C. of Datia. We spent the night at the Circuit House at Jhansi. Next morning, Sunday, December 5, 1954, the party left Jhansi for Datia. At Datia we were received by the D.C. and the Additional D.C. Mr. Raghvendra Prasad and Mr. S. K. Sen respectively. The latter joined the party and led the way.

From Datia we had to take the road to Unao, and from near the village Parasari on that road we had to follow the cattle track to the village *Gujarra*, our destination; for, it is within half a mile or so south of this village that the inscribed rock lies. The total distance from Datia to Gujarra is about 11 miles, while it is about the same from Jhansi by another route. The relative distances and directions may be clear from the map.

The oval-shaped rock, bearing the inscription, lies at the foot of a hillock, locally known as *Siddhan-ki-toriya* or 'the Hillock of the Perfected Ones.' The hillock consists of hard rock and huge boulders superimposed in all

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

manner of fanciful poses, providing shelters. On the top of the hillock there are relice of old habitation, such as brick-bats and potsherds. I have brought back a bucketfull of these remains, which also contains a terracotta bird-head. These remains are awaiting an expert examination.

Our visit to the inscribed rock was a memorable picnic. We spent the whole day there and were busy taking photographs and estampages of the inscription. The slanting rays of the setting sun made the inscribed letters on the rock more clearly visible and the photographs taken at that time show better results. Some members of the party went back at dusk, while the rest of us had to remain there, as the work of preparing estampages could not be finished by then. It grew cold and the night was far advanced when we returned to the Circuit House of Datia for a hard-earned meal and a good night's rest. But, for me personally, there was no rest. I had read a name in the inscription, that had quite robbed me of my sleep. The name was *Asokaraja*. I had kept this as a secret to myself. The only person with whom I shared this secret that night was my colleague Dr. Puri to whom I told it while we were dining together in the Circuit House at Datia.

Inscription

I must now tell you something about the inscription itself. As already stated, the very first glance at the indifferent photograph shown to me last year had enabled me to detect its nature. I then said to myself: 'We have here another inscription of the Maurya Emperor Asoka.' It however, remained to be seen whether it would be a new one or whether it would be another version of some of the already known edicts of Asoka. In the course of a talk which I recently had with my senior colleague Mr. A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology in India, the latter guesse that the newly discovered rock inscription would be a copy of the Rupnath Rock Edict of Asoka. I am happy to say that his guess has turned out to be correct. It is well known to Indologists that as many as nine copies of the same rock edict have already been found. The ninth one was discovered as recently as last year, namely that of Rajula-Mandagiri in Andhra State. The present one raises the number to ten. These ten are distributed as follows: Bairat in Rajasthan, Sahasram in Bihar, Rupnath in Madhya Pradesh, Yerragudi and Rajula-Mandagiri in Andhra, Maski in Hyderabad Dn., Brahmagiri, Siddapur and Jatinga-Ramesvara in Mysore, and the tenth the present one, Gujarra in Vindhya Pradesh. It may be seen that the present discovery fills up an important gap in the series. The text of the inscription in question is already known from as many as nine different versions. "Where lies the importance?", one may reasonably ask. "Where lies the importance of the recently discovered

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

rock adict of Asoka at Gujarra, if the same text is already known from as many as nine different versions"?

Importance of Inscription

The chief importance of the present edict lies in the fact that it mentions the Maurya Emperor by his personal name Asoka. The total number of Asoka's edicts so far discovered is upward of 200, of which only one, namely that at Maski in Hyderabad Deccan, which is badly damaged, mentions his name Asoka, all the rest mentioning him usually by his regal title: *Devanampiya Piyadasi Raja*, freely rendered as 'His Secred and Gracious Majesty the King'. In many of his edicts, this title is also shortened to *Devanampiya Pyadasi* or simply *Devanampiya*. The Gujarra version outshines its compeer in as much as it mentions Asoka's name ceremoniously: it has *Devanampiyasa Piyadasino Asokarajasa*, whereas the Maski version has only *Devanampiyasa Asokasa*. Besides, the Gujarra version is far better preserved than any hitherto known and is thus likely to prove of great help in clarifying many a doubtful reading and interpretation thereof. It uses certain expressions that are wanting in the other versions.

Contents

As to the contents, the edict is virtually a combination of a confession, a sermon and a proclamation by the Emperor Asoka. It begins with the announcement that Asoka, at the time of the issuing of the said proclamation, had been a follower of Buddhism for over two and a half years, but that he did not show any zeal or ferver as a devotee. Later, he visited the Buddhist abbey and became more zealous about the religious practices, and turned men into gods, so to say. He then exhorts his subjects to follow his example and orders his officers to have the *sravana*, i.e. proclamation, engraved on stone pillars and rocks. There are a few passages the meaning of which is not clear. Scholars have offered various interpretations. I quote here the relevant translation, of the Brahmagiri version, by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar: "The Beloved of god saith: 'It was more than two years and a half that I was a lay-worshipper but did not exert myself strenuously. It is one year, indeed, more than one year that I have lived with the Samgha and have exerted myself; but during this period men who unmixed, were caused to be mixed, with gods throughout Jambudvipa. For this is the fruit of exertion. This is to be attained not by the superior one only. But, indeed it is possible for even a subordinate one, if he exerts himself, to cause (people) to attain much heavenly bliss. For this purpose this proclamation has been made; namely, in order that the subordinate ones and the superior ones shall exert themselves to this (end), that my neighbours should know this and that this exertion may long endure. And this object shall grow, indeed shall grow profusely, shall

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

grow (at least) one-and-a-half fold. And this proclamation has been proclaimed by 256 Vyushtas." (p. 328-9)

Dr. Bhandarkar equates the word *vyutha* or *vivutha* of the original with the Sanskrit *Vyushta* and takes it to be designation of a particular class of officers. Other scholars explain this term differently. The figure 256 is a bit mystifying. There are several other obscure passages in the inscription, which provide enough brain-food to the interested scholars. But we need not dilate upon them here.

Rank

A tentative transcript of the present rock edict is appended hereto. From the very beginning, the scholars have classified the edicts of Asoka into various types. In that scheme, our inscription is one of the Minor Rock Edicts. The attribute Minor may not be taken to mean here 'of less importance'. In importance, this particular Minor Rock Edict is perhaps the foremost of all the Asokan inscriptions. It was presumably for this reason that the great historian Vincent A. Smith, while editing THE EDICTS OF ASOKA, places this as No. 1 and gives it the title The Fruit of Exertion. Smith's estimation of Asoka is based mainly on this very Minor Rock Edict. His remarks are worth quoting: "The Edicts reveal Asoka as a man who sought to combine the piety of the monk with the King, and to make India the kingdom of righteousness as he conveived it, a theocracy without a God; in which the government should act the part of Providence, and guide the people in the right way. Every man, he maintained, must work out his own salvation, and eat the fruit of his deeds. "The fruit of exertion is not to be attained by a great man only; because even by the small man who chooses to exert himselt immense heavenly bliss may be won". For this purpose has this precept been proclaimed:— "Let small and great exert themselves to this end." The government could point out the road, but each man must travel it for himself."

Significance of the Site

Before closing my talk, I may be permitted to say a few words regarding the site and its surroundings. Usually such rock inscriptions of Asoka are situated at places where originally there were human habitations, holy places or highways. The hillock nearby which is, as already stated, locally known *Siddhan-ki-toriya*, is resorted to by the neighbouring villagers as a holy place. In one of the rock-shelters on the top of the hill there is a roughly hewn *Siva-linga* which is the main object of popular worship at present. I was told that once a year a festival is held there. The villagers, when enquired, told me that they knew of the existence of the inscribed rock for generations together as a *bijak* or a writing on stone that possibly gives information to a treasure hidden underground nearby. It is strange that, in spite of this renown the rock remained unknown all this

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

time. I also learnt that Mr. Lal Chand Sharma, as a forest contractor, was engaged in removing wood from the nearby forest last year. It must have been during that period that he came to know about the existence of the inscribed rock. The scholarly world is no doubt indebted to him for passing on the information to the right quarters, and hopes that he will, as promised by him, bring more similar 'hidden treasures' to the notice of the authorities and add to the good name earned by him.

The site requires further exploration as there are definite indications of early human habitation there. The name of the neighbouring village of Parasari reminds one of the sage *Parasara* or his grandson *Parasarya*, that is the Maharshi Vyasa or Vedavyasa, the traditional author of the *Mahabharata* and the major Puranas. This village also has early relics strewn about, equally worth a proper examination.

Vast regions within Vindhya Pradesh are still archaeologically unexplored. They hold out good promise. With the enlightened interest on the part of the people there and with the active support and collaboration on the part of the Government of Vindhya Pradesh, many important antiquarian remains will surely come to light.

Protective Measures

The hitherto insignificant *Siddhan-ki-toriya* is sure to attract more visitors now and acquire more prominence. The spot can be developed into an ideal picnic resort. At present there is dearth of good drinking water. A good approach road is another desideratum. The Vindhya Pradesh Government will, it is hoped, soon attend to these needs. The Department of Archaeology of the Central Government is taking steps to declare the inscribed rock as a monument of national importance and, by way of protecting it, to build a shed over it and an enclosure around it.

१. देवानंपियस पियदसिनो असोकराजस तियानि सबछरानि उपासक्सा सधि [?] कस वछ उपा····स····यिते ता [?]·····[ब] ?

२. ··चापराकंते ति आहा एतेणा अंतरेना जंबुदीपसि देवानंपिय [स] अभिसं देवा संत मनिसु मिसं देवा कटा पराकमस इयं फले नो·····मह [स्व]··ता [वं]

३. च [कि] ये पापोतवे खुदाकेण पि पराकममानेना धंमं चरमानेना पाने सूसयतेना विपुले पि स्वगे चाकिये आरोधयितवे से ए [ता]—ये

४. अठाय इयं सर्वणे खुदाके चा उडारे चा धंमं चरंतू··गं युजतू अं [ता] पि चा जानंतू कि [ति] च चिल [ठिति] के धंमं चा····?

५. ·····ति··ए····धंमं चर अति··[दे ?] सा व [नं] विवुथा [ति ?] [२००] ५० ६

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A PASSAGE OF THE ERAN PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

DR. D. C. SIRCAR, M. A., PH. D.,

Lines 9-10 of the fragmentary Eran pillar inscription, giving the first half of a stanza (verse 3) in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, were read by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet as follows:

– – *babhūva* Dhanad-Āntaka-tuṣṭi-kopa-
tulyah — — – manayena Samudraguptah[1].

He noticed the Perfect Tense in the verb *babhūva* and suggested that it probably refers to some predecessor of Samudragupta. The epigraph was, however, attributed by Fleet to Samudragupta himself on the ground that none of the names of his successors "can be fitted into any of the places where letters are legible in ll. 11-24."[2] Several years ago we proposed to restore the two missing letters before *babhūva* as *putro* implying thereby that the passage speaks of Samudragupta himself as the son of Candragupta I and not of any of his predecessors[3]. In our opinion, the lost first verse of the inscription mentioned Candragupta I while his son Samudragupta was introduced in the following two stanzas. Recently the epigraphic passage quoted above has been examined by Professor Jagannath Agrawal of the Department of Sanskrit, East Punjab University, Jullundur. In a paper read before the Jaipur Session (1951) of the Indian History Congress and now published in its *Proceedings*[4], Professor Agrawal has advanced arguments to prove that the stanza in question refers to Samudragupta and not to any earlier Gupta monarch as supposed by Fleet, although he has passed over the restoration proposed by us in silence. Like Fleet, he draws our attention to the Perfect Tense in the verb *babhūva* but concludes that "Samudragupta was not alive at the time the inscription was composed." Thus, while Fleet assigned the Eran pillar inscription to the reign of Samudragupta, Agrawal regards it as a posthumous record. On this point we are inclined to agree with Fleet as Agrawal's suggestion is based entirely on the evidence of the Perfect Tense in the verb *babhūva*, which is, in our opinion, no evidence at all. Both Fleet and Agrawal ignore the interesting fact that there are innumerable instances in epigraphic Sanskrit poetry of the use of the Past Imperfect (*ian*) and Perfect

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 20.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 29

3. *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, 1942, p. 261. Verse 7 seems to refer to Samudragupta's feudatory ruling over the district round Airikina (Eran).

4. See pp. 6-63.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

((*Liṭ*) Tenses for the Present Indicative (*Laṭ*). The attention of scholars is drawn to some such cases in the following lines.

It is well known that ancient Indian kings issued charters in respect of the grants made by them especially for the information of future rulers of their dominions so that there might not be resumption of the gift lands at a later date. On this point the *Viṣṇu-smṛti* has:

paṭe vā tāmra-paṭṭe vā likhitam sva-mudr-ānkitam c-*āgāmi-nṛpa-vijñāpan-ārtham* dadyāt,[1]

while the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* says:

dattvā bhūmim nibandham vā kṛtvā lekhyam tu kārayet/
āgāmi-bhadra-nṛpati-parijñānāya pārthivah//[2]

As a matter of fact the word *śāsana*, meaning 'a royal charter' and occurring in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*[3], has been explained by Vijñāneśvara in his *Mitāksarā* commentary as:

śisyante *bhavisyanto* nṛpatayo=nena.

In view of the above attitude of the Indians of old, it is no wonder that the action of a reigning monarch in respect of a grant made by him is often expressed in the charter, issued on the occasion, in the Perfect Tense, even though, as will be shown below, there are some other reasons underlying the representation of current events as past ones. Reference may be made in this connection to the Tezpur plates of king Vanamālavarman (ninth century) of Prāgjyotisa, recording a grant of the king himself in the following words:

tasmai *dadau* śrī-Vanamāladevo
grāmam sa mātā-pitr-puṇya-hetoh.[4]

The verb used here is *dadau* in the Perfect Tense although the dedication of the village was a current event. The said characteristic is also noticed in the recently published Parbatīya plates of the same king, which has the verb *pradadau* in the Perfect Tense in a similar context:

tatr=āgrajāya *pradadau* dvijāya
grāmam hi Cūḍāmaṇaye praśāsya/
Haposa-nāmānam=iha prayatnāt
puṇye=hani prīti-manā narendrah//
Mātā-pitroi=ātmanaś=ca puṇya-yaśo-bhivrddhaye
atah sarvair=anumantavyam=iti/[5]

Apparently an extension of the same conception is noticed in some charters which use both the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tenses in the des-

1. Chapter III, *sutra* 58.
2. Acaradhyaya, verse 318.
3. *Ibid*, verse 320.
4. P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kamarupasasanavali*, p. 64.
5. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX, p. 156. The king's request contained in the prose sentence added to the stanza has to be noted.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

cription of other activities of their issuers. The following passages of the Khalimpur plate of king Dharmapāla (circa 770-810 A. D.) of Eastern India use the verbe *ullalāsa* and *prajajvāla* in the Perfect Tense in describing the exploits of Dharmapāla himself:

(1) Sampṛāptāyāh parama-tanutām cakravālam phaṇānām
magn-onmīlan-maṇi-phaṇipateṛ = lāghavād = ullalāsa;

(2) Viruddha-visaya-ksobhād = yasya kop-āgnir = Aurvavat/
aniṛvṛti *prajajvāla* catur-ambhodhi-vāritah//[1]

The copper-plate grants of Devapāla (circa 810-50 A. D.) similarly describe him as:

urvim = ā Varuṇa-niketanāc = ca sindhor =
ā Laksmī-kula-bhavanāc = ca yo *bubhoja*.[2]

Although Devapāla was 'enjoying the earth' when the charters were issued, the verb *bubhoja* has been used here in the Perfect Tense. There are also instances of the use of the Past Imperfect Tense in similar contexts. Both the sets of the Baud plates of Prithvīmahādēvī (tenth century) of Orissa have the following passage in the description of the ruling queen:

prthvīm Prthvīmahādēvī cira-kālam = apālayat.[3]

The verb used here is *apālayat* in the Past Imperfect Tense.

It should, however, not be supposed that such use of the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tense is confined only to the copper-plate charters which were avowedly meant for the information of future rulers. We have numerous cases of similar usage in the descriptions of both private and royal personages in stone inscriptions recording their activities. As to records of donation similar to the copper-plate grants, we may refer to the Nagarjuni cave inscription of Maukhari Anantavarman (fifth century) which has;

grāmam = analpa-bhoga-vibhavam ramyam Bhavānyai *dadau*.[4]

The Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta (455-67 A. D.) describes the installation of a deity and the grant of a village in its favour in the following stanzas:

1. A. K. Maitreya, *Gaudalekhamala*, p. 13.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 35; *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 320; etc.
3. *J.A.S.*, Letters, Vol. XIX, p. 120. In the description of another ruling queen of the same family, we have in her own records:
tato Dandimahadevi suta tasya mahiyasi/
mahim = ahina-samarthya cira-kalama = *palayat*//
avicchinn-ayati-pramsau vamse Kara-mahibhrtam/
china-bhuta prta = eva ya *babhuva* vibhusanam/
lavany-amrta-nisyanda-sundaram dadhati vapuh/
y = *arajac* = candra-lekh = eva vilasat-kirti-candrika// (Ep. Ind.; vol, XXIX, p. 88 etc.)
For such use of the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tenses, in the same context, see below.
4. *Corp. Ins. Ind.;* Vol. III, p. 227.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

iha c=ainam pratiṣṭhāpya supratiṣṭhita-śāsanah/
grāmam=enam sa *vidadhe* pituh puṇy-ābhivrddhaye//
ato Bhagavato mūrtir=iyam yaś=c=ātra samśritah/
ubhayam *nirdideś*=āsau pituh puṇyāya puṇya-dhīh//[1]

As regards the use of the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tenses in the descriptions in contemporary records of pious works other than donation, we have innumerable instances, only a few of which are quoted below. The Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Candragupta II (376-414 A. D.) records the construction of a cave for the god Śiva by the king's minister Śāba Vīrasena who was an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra but accompanied his master to Malwa. The passage describing the said action, however, reads:

bhaktyā Bhagavah Śambhor=guhām=etām=akārayat.[2]

The Gangdhar stone inscription (423 A. D.) of the time of king Viśvavarman of Daśapura describe the construction of a tample and the excavation of a well by his minister Mayūrāksaka in the following passages:

(1) veśm-ātyugram nrpati-sacivo-kārayat=puṇya-hetoh;

(2) kūpaś=c=ainam=akārayad=guṇa-nidhih śrīmān-Mayūrāksakah;

which are followed by the prayer:

tāvat=kīrttir=*bhavatu* vipulā śrī-Mayūrāksakasya[3]

The Junagarh rock inscription (455-58 A. D.) of Skandagupta's reign describes the reconstruction of the Sudarśanā lake by the provincial governor Cakrapālita in the following stanza:

babandha yatnān=mahatā nrdevān=
abhyarcya samyag-ghaṭit-opalena/
a-jāti-duṣṭam=prathitam taṭākam
Sudarśanam śāśvata-kalpa-kálam/[4]

The Sarnath stone inscription (1026 A. D.) of king Mahīpāla I describes the king's pious deeds at Kāśī in the following passage:

Cauḍ-ādhipo Mahīpālah Kāśyām śrīmān=*akārayat.*[5]

It will be seen from the passages quoted above that all of them have used the verbs either in the past Imperfect or in the Perfect Tense in describing current events. Many more instances can be added to our list quite easily. Another interesting fact to be noticed in this connection is that sometimes an indiscriminate use of the Past Imperfect, Perfect and Present Indicative Tenses in the same context is noticed in the descriptions of ruling princes. A very clear instance of this is offered by the Barabar cave inscription of the Maukhari prince Anantavarman incised during

1. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 315.
2. *Select Inscriptions*, 272.
3. Ibid; p. 385.
4. Ibid; pp. 306—07.
5. *Gaudalekhamala*, p. 108.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the reign of his father Śārdūlavarman.[1] In the description of the son and the father we have the verbs *alañcakāra* and *babhūva* in the Perfect, *acīkarat* in the Past Imperfect and *karoti* and *patati* in the Present Indicative. Cf.

bhūpānām Maukharīṇām kulam=atanu-guṇo=*lañcakār*=ātma-jātyā
śrī-Śārdūlasya yo=*bhūj*=jana-hrdaya-haro=nantavarmā suputrah/
Krsṇasy=ākrsṇa-kīrttih Pravaragiri-guhām samośritam bimbam=etan
mūrttam loke yaśah svam racitam=iva mud=*ācikarat* kāntimat=sah//
Kālah śatru-mahībhujām praṇayinām=icchā-phalah pādapo
dīpah ksatra-kulasya naika-samera-vyāpāra-śobhāvatoh/
kāntā-citta-harah Smara-pratisamah pātā *babhuva* ksiteh
śrī-Śārdūla iti pratisṭhita-yaśāh sāmanta-cūḍāmaṇih//
utpaksmānta-vilohit-oru-tarala-spasṭ-osṭa-tārām rusā
śrī-Śārdūla-nrpah *karoti* visamām yatra sva-drstim ripau/
tatr=ākarṇa-vikrsṭa-śārnga-śaradhi-vyastah śaro=nt-āvahas=
tat-putrasya *pataty*=ananta-sukhadasy=Ānantavarma-śruteh//[2]

Similarly in the description of king Vanamālavarman in his own Tezpur plates we have the following verbal forms: *cakre, akāri, vijagrhuh, mumucuh, vijahuh, ūhe, vicarati, ajayat, udeti, gāyanti* and *abhavat.*[3]

On previous occasions, while commenting on the Sarnath inscription of Mahīpāla I, the Nagarjuni cave inscription of Anantavarman and the Parbatīya plates of Vanamālavarman, we tried to justify the use of the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tenses in the description of current events by pointing out not only that the writers of such epigraphic records had future readers in their minds but also that the epigraphs were often engraved after the completion of the action involved in the performance of the pious deeds they refer to.[4] It must, however, be admitted that inscriptions like the Barabar cave inscription quoted above exhibit a considerable amount of confusion in regard to the use of the Tenses. Moreover there are some cases of the use of the Perfect Tense, which cannot be explained with reference either to future readers or to the period intervening between the performance of an act and its recording in an epigraph and have to be attributed to the confusion about its use that must have existed in the minds of the students of Sanskrit grammar. In both the Tezpur and the Parbatīya plates of Vanamālavarman, for instance, we have a stanza recording a speech of the goddess Laksmī, conceived as incarnated in a queen justifying her choice of a king as her husband by pointing out that the king

1. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 222.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-23. For similar cases in early works of Sanskrit literature see below.

3. *Kamarupasasanavali*, pp. 61-63.

4. *J. A. S.*, letters, Vol. XVII, p. 27; Vol. XIX, p. 120; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX p. 157, See also *Kamarupasasanavali*, pp. 183-84.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was an incarnation of her celestial husband Visṇu. The verse runs as follows:

varṇ-ādy-aśesa-guṇa-jātam = ayam *babhāra*
patyur = mam = ātula-balasya Rathāngapāṇe/
ten = āham = agramahisī jagatībhujo = sya
bhūtvā jane na khalu lāghavam = *abhyupaimi* //[1]

Now Laksmī selected the king as her husband because he was adorned with the qualities of Visṇu. In spite, however, of the fact that the king was still living and continuing to enjoy the said characteristic as is clearly indicated by the Present Indicative Tense in *abhyupaimi*, the verb used to indicate the idea is *babhāra* in the Perfect Tense. We have here absolutely no case of *Paroksa*, underlying the use of that Tense, as it is ordinarily understood. The poet may have used the Perfect Tense in this case on the ground that Laksmī was thinking of the time when she had selected the king as her husband at a later date when she was justifying the selection in the speech recorded in the stanza. This reminds us of the following remark in Patañjali's *Mahābhāsya* on the prevailing controversy among grammarians regarding the significance of *Paroksa*:

kecit = tāvad = āhur = varsa-śata-vrttam Paroksam = iti /
apara āhuh *kaṭ-āntaritam* Paroksam iti /
apara āhur *dvy—aha-vrttam try-aha-vrttam* c = eti /[2]

"Some say that *Paroksa* means the lapse of a century. Others say that what is screened from the eye of the speaker is *Parousa*. There are still others contending that an interval of two or three days constitutes *Paroksa*." It is believed that Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has been called an *a-kālaka* grammar[3] because he excluded from his purview the discussion of *kāla* or the Tenses, on the exact definition of which subtle and elaborate arguments[4] were often advanced by the grammarians.[5] Indeed some of the passages cited above from epigraphic Sanskrit poetry clearly exhibit the confusion regarding the use of the Tenses referred to by early grammarians.

The same confusion is also noticed in many works of Sanskrit literature. The words *babhūva* and *bhavitā* are both found in the description of Sāvarṇi in the *Durgā-saptaśatī*,[6] section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the

1. *Kamarupasasanavali*, p. 60; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 154.

2. Under Panini, III, 2, 115; Kielborn's edition, Vol. II, p. 120.

3. Cf. the *Kasika* of Vamana and Jayaditya on Panini, II, 4, 21; IV, 3, 115; VI, 2, 14; Bala Sastr's edition, pp. 139, 379 578.

4. See Patanjali's *Mahabhasya* on Panini, III, 2, 115 and 123; Kielhorn's edition, Vol. II, pp. 119-20, 123-24; also Bhattoji Diksita's *Siddhantakaumudi*, Nirnayasagar Press edition, pp. 336-37. Cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, pp. 295-96; Kielhorn, *A Grammar of the Sanskrt Language*, pp. 268-69.

5. Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Panini*, 1953, pp. 23-24.

6. Adhyaya I, *sloka* 2; Adhyaya XIII, *sloka* 17; Venkatesvar Press edition, pp. 43, 276.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

former being regarded by commentators as a case of *bhāvini bhūtavad = upacārah*. There are similar uses of the Perfect for the Future Tense in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Cf.

sādvalesu yathā *śisye* vanānte vana-gocarā/
kuth-āstaraṇa-yuktesu kim syāt sukhataram tatah// (II, 30, 14)
s = ābravīn = mām tato devi n = aisa dharmo mahākape/
yat te prṣṭham *siseve* ham sva-vaśā hari-pungava// (V, 67, 38)

The same epic also uses the Past Imperfect Tense for the Present Indicative. Cf.

phala-mūl-āśanau dāntau tāpasau dharmacariṇau/
putrau Daśarathasy *āstām* bhrātarau Rāma-Laksmaṇau// (III, 19, 15)

There are also many cases in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the indiscriminate use of the Perfect and Present Indicative Tenses. Cf.

śiśyire c = ābhibhūtāni santrastāny = udvijanti ca/
sampravivyathire c = api na ca *paspandire* bhayat// (VI, 22, 13)
anye bherīh *samājaghmur* anye *cakrur* mahā-svanam/
keśān = anye *pralulupuh* karṇāy = anye *laśanti* ca // (VI, 60, 51)
vividhān = astra-samyogān = agnir = *dahati* tatra vai /
nānāvidhān = grhāmś = citrān = *dadāha* hutabhuk tadā // (VI, 75, 13)
śara-homa-samiddhasya vidhūmasya mah-ārcisah/
babhūvus = tāni lingāni vijayam *darśayanti* ca // (VI, 80, 9)
n = aiva jyā-tala-nirghoso na ca nemi-khura-svanah/
śuśruve caratas = tasya na ca rūpam *prakāśate* // (VI, 80, 26)

For some other instances of these types, see *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. I, pp. 301-07.

THE GUPTA PHASE AT NĀLANDĀ

DR. SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

Several literary works trace the history of Nālandā not only from the Gupta period, but from a much remote time. An outlying part of the city of Rājagrha, as described in Sūtrakrtānga, it was according to Dighanikāya, Samyuttanikāya and Majjhima Nikāya visited by Buddha in the course of his sejourns[1] and according to Kalpasūtra[2] Mahāvīra spent here no less than fourteen rainy seasons. If Tāranāth is to be believed Aśoka gave offerings to the caitya of Sariputra that existed at Nālandā and built a temple[3]. No further states that Nāgārjuna (2nd. century A. D.), the

1. S. B. E., XLV, pp. 419-20; Digh. 1, p. 1, 11, 81, 83, 211-12 etc.; Samyutta II, 110, part IV, 110, 311f, 322f. V, 159; Maj. I, 371-72, 377f.
2. Herman Jacobi's Kalpasutra, p. 64.
3. Schiefner, Taranath's Geschte des relates Buddhismus in Indian, p. 65-66.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Mahāyānist, Āryadeva (4th. century A. D.) the Buddhist logician, Asamga (5th. century A. D.) the philosopher of the Yogācāra school and Vasuvandhu (3th. century A. D.) the celebrated writer and philosopher were the most notable teachers at Nālandā in the succeeding periods and that Suvisṇu, a contemporary of Nāgārjuna built here 108 temples to prevent the decline of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna forms[1]. Fa-Hien, the Chinese pilgrim of the 5th century A. D. speaks of the village of Nalo, which may be identified with Nālandā. He says that it was a place of birth and death of Sāriputra and that stūpa existed here[2]. When Hiuen Tsang visited Nālandā in the middle of the 7th. century A. D. it had already become the seat of one of the largest universities of ancient world. About the contemporary history of Nālandā, for which his account is highly authentic, I am not concerned in this paper. I only take into account his remarks about the past history of Nālandā, of the Gupta and pre-Gupta periods. Hiuen Tsang associates Nālandā with Buddha and his famous disciple Sāriputra. Of the "great P'usas" of the University referred to by him Sthiramati may be identified with the author of the "Introduction to Mahāyānism" which was translated into Chinese about 400 A. D. He therefore must have flourished prior to that time. Another teacher Gunamati being his contemporary may be placed to the some chronological horizon. About the earlier history of the site the Chinese pilgrim says "Here seen after the decease of Buddha, Śakrāditya, a former king of this country, esteeming the one Vehicle and reverencing the three precious ones, built a monastery. This king's son and successor Buddhagupta, continuing his father's good work, to the south of this monastery built another one; to the east of this king Tathā gatagupta built a third monastery; and to the north-east of this king Bālāditya added a fourth....To the west of this monastery Bālāditya's son and successor Vajra built another; and to the north of this a king of Mid-India afterwards erected long monastery"[3]. Since some of these names tally to a certain with the names borne by the members of the Imperial Gupta dynasty it is held that they refer to the Gupta kings[4].

Thus far as the literary evidence is concerned. But a historian is not satisfied with mere literary statements; a fact has to be corroborated by material or archaeological evidence before it can pass on as history. Excavations carried on large scale for more than 20 years at the site of the ancient university of Nālandā have unearthed a considerable amount of material for the study of the life and culture of Nālandā since the earliest phases of its occupation. But as the Director General of Archaeologly

1. Ibid, pp. 69ff, p. 83, p. 122.
2. Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, p. 81.
3. Watters, Vol. II, p. 164-165.
4. Raychoudhuri H. C. Political History of India, 3rd ed., p. 401.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in India points out "excavations have not revealed anything which suggests the occupation of the site before the Guptas."[1] Can the beginnings of the celebrated university be placed on unassailable grounds even to the Gupta period? In other words, was there a definitely Gupta phase in the ancient university of Nālandā? If so, what was its exact character and extent? The evidence of archaeology consisting of architectural remains, sculptures, coins and inscriptions requires to be critically examined for an answer to the questions.

Besides a number of small meaningless or insignificant structures the ancient university site of Nālandā, as a result of many year's systematic excavations has revealed the existence of a number of buildings of which there are elevan monasteries, three caityas, a huge stupa and one temple. All the structures have mere than one stratum, showing that rebuilding of the structures were undertaken over former ones, dilapidated, in different ages. Particularly important from this point of view are two structures—monastery no. 1 and stūpa no. 3 (so numbered by the department of Archaeology). In the former there are as many as nine occupational levels. The later structures were built exactly over the former ones and there was hardly any difference in the main plan of the structure. While the uppermost levels can be proved to be of the late Pala period, no definite date can be assigned to the lowest ones. So far as the style of the architecture is concerned there is nothing which can associate the earliest structure-stratum with any known cultural-chronological phase. The inscription of Samudragupta found in the monastery is spurious.[2] The solitary indication about the approximate date of the earliest phase of this monastery is suggested by the style of the sculptural panels which decorated a 'chabutra' placed at a level of some 22 feet below the uppermost parapet of the court of the monastery. The panels showing in low relief kinnara and lotus plant belongs, according to Hīrānanda Śastrī to about 6th. century after Christ, which according to him was the date of the earliest occupational level in this monastery.[3] But the sculpture originally belonged to some other temple. It might have been added to a later structure afterwards in which case the date of the sculpture can not have any bearing on the earliest phase of occupation at site no.[4]

So far as the stūpa no. 3 is concerned the evidence of a Gupta occupation rests on more solid grounds. There are, in this building, seven occupational levels of which the sixth and seventh phases are of the Pāla period. The fifth stratum which is the most well preserved has in its-

1) Ghosh A., Guide to Nalanda, p. 40.
2) It appears that the record was forged sometime about the 6th. 7th. century A. D. see Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p. 262.
3) Mem. A. S. I. 66, p. 23.
4) Ghosh, Guide. p. 8.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

courtyard of the same occupational level several votive stupas some of which has yielded inscriptions of the sixth century A. D. One is dated in Gupta year 197, i.e. A. D. 516-17.[1] The fifth stratum or at least its beginning is definitely of the late Gupta period and the earlier ones must be prior to that. Of these, the first three are wholly under the earth at present and their diminutive forms and dilapidated character prevents them from being assigned to any definite chronological setting.

The group of 'kinnara and lotus leaf' panels found in the monastery No. 1, which has been already noted may be assigned from the workmanship of the sculpture to a late Gupta period. But since they originally belonged to some other temple and were carried to the monastery at a much later date—the evidence of the piece for an alleged Gupta occupational phase of Nālandā is overruled.[2] Of the other sculptural remains the fifth phase of stūpa no. 3, has, in its three excavated corner towers stucce figures of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. They have often been presumed on the basis of the inscription of the Gupta year 197 found in the care of a contemporary votive to the same period. But the style of the sculpture definitely calls for a later date. As the officer in charge of the excavation of the site remarks. "From the style of the figures and of the sparse decoration on the caitya niches containing them, I should be inclined to assign them to about the 7th. or 8th. cent. A. D.; and this assumption is supported by the circumstance that the brick paving revealed around the tower is at approximately the same level as the similar paving outside the earliest monasteries on the Nālandā site, which are assignable to about the 7th. century."[3] Page's opinion receives further confirmation from Hīrānanda Śastrī.[4] In fact, the stucce Buddha and Bodhisattva figures of the fifth phase of stūpa no. 3. show a definite decadence in form the mature Gupta art as revealed in the famous Sarnath and Mathura Buddhas. The imperfect modelling, absence of a vigourous expression and effiminate features would group these specimens with similar art productions of the 8th. century tradition. Specimens of this past—Gupta art tradition are to be found all ever north-India, from Sarnath to Parihasapura. It is possible that the inscriptions, one of which is dated in the Gupta year 197 indicate an earlier phase of the fifth stratum while its ultimate phase is indicated by the 7th., 8th century sculptures.

Two Gupta coins have so far been discovered from Nālandā. Of these, one is an archer type coin of Kumāragupta I. It was found below

1. Ep. Ind. XXIV, p. 20.
2. ANN. Rep. A. S. I., 1926-27, p. 132. The same thing has happened also in the case of stone temple no. 2, where the sculptures of about 7th. cent. A. D. were utilised to decorate the temple of a much later date.
3. Ann. Rop. A. S. I., 1925-26, p. 103.
4. Mem. A. S. I. no. 66. p. 117.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Devapāla level and immediately above the earliest concrete pavement in monastery no. 4. As the excavator very correctly observes "the presence of his coins here is not conclusive evidence for a date of the remains in which it was found, likely they may date from some subsequent period since the coin is of such a nature as to lead to its being hoarded long after it was coined."[1] The other coin was of Narasimhagupta. About the date of the structural level in which it was found Page's observations noted above, are equally applicable. But the find of two clay coin moulds of Narasimhagupta also recovered from the site,[2] may perhaps indicate closer relation of this monarch with the monastery of Nālandā.

Now we come to the inscriptional evidence. The votive inscription of Gupta year 197 has already been noted. Three other inscriptions which may be dated to about the same period or which are slightly later in date have also come from the fifth occupational level of stūpa site no. 3, the early days of which, as we have already seen may coincide with 6th. century A. D. Nālandā has yielded besides a number of royal seals of some of the celebrated Gupta monarch such as Budhagupta, Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta III, Visṇugupta and Vainyagupta. They are genuine and in several cases throw important light on the history and geneaology of the Imperial Guptas. But however valuable they may be otherwise, they were all recovered from dumps and not from any solid occupational deposit. So the find of those seals is no indicative of a Gupta occupation at Nālandā.

From the survey of the archaeological materials, it is clear that Nālandā had not attained the status of any importance far less that of an university in the pre Gupta period. The only structural remains that may perhaps belong to a period earlier than the Guptas are the first four levels of the stūpa site no. 3, very small and insignificant structures, just the remains of same humble stūpa. (Whether it had in its care the stūpa of Sariputra referred to in literature it is difficult to say). It appears to have been a place of no added significance in the Gupta period proper. It is only from the 6th. century A. D. that the place starts to assume some importance, first probably as a centre of an humble community of robe-wearers and culminating later on, as one of the biggest centres of Mahāvānism. So far as the literary evidence is concerned the vague charter of Tārnāth's account for the earlier history of eastern India, is too well known to historians. The identification of the kings referred to by Hiuen Tsang is difficult. Śakrāditya can not stand for Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty since he is placed "soon after the decease of Buddha". Whether Buddhagupta stands for Buddhagupta is a matter of conjecture.

1. Ann. Rep. A. S. I., 1928-29. p. 145.
2. Ann. Rep. A. S. I., 1935-36, p. 52.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Baladitya's building activities at Nālandā recieve confirmation from a later inscription, discovered from Nālandā, but his identity with any Gupta king can not be conclusively proved.[1] We have not in the geneaological list of the Imperial Guptas the other kings mentioned by the pilgrim. To this mass of negatives evidence may be added the statements of Fa-hien who definitely observes that nothing but a stūpa existed at Nālandā at his time.[2]

The coins, coin-moulds and seals of the Gupta kings and a very few contemporary sculptures found at Nālandā were brought here from other places. Probably they were used by the ruling successors of the mighty Guptas or they might have been just carried to the place by commoners from some Gupta occupational site of the neighbouring region. The only such region of which we know of is Biharsariff, the site of the ancient university of Odantapurī. This site has yielded the famous stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta. A dig here and the comparative study of the materials recovered from this place with these from Nālandā, particularly the pottery types, I have little doubt, will supply better clues on the Gupta phase at Nālandā—its how and why.

THREE SHORT NOTES ON SAMUDRAGUPTA'S ALLAHABAD PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

DASHARATHA SHARMA, M. A., D. LITT.

(1) *Kharaparika–Prārjuna Group*

Kharaparikas are the last of the group of tribal states, *Malavār junāyana-Yaudheya-Mādrakābhira-Prārjuna-Sanakānika-Kāka-Kharaparikādi*, which submitted to Samudragupta. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, regarding the Kharaparikas as identical with the Kharparas mentioned in the Batihagarh inscription, puts them in the Damoh district of the Madhyaprdesh[3]. I regard this location of the tribe as unacceptable, for there is nothing in the

1. Can the kings referred to by Hiuen Tsang may be simply some humble local rulers who were ruling over Nalanda region after the fall of the Imperial Guptas, as shadow monarchs of their mighty predecessors? In such cases they may be also responsible in utilising some Gupta materials in a much later context and explain why even in the absence of any definite Gupta occupation, Gupta seals, coins and coin moulds are found at the site.

2. R. K. Mukherjee says, "It may be that, because Nalanda was then more famous as a seat of Brahminical learning that Fa-Hien has not noticed it in the record of his travel in early fifth century A. D."; Journal of the Bihar Res. Soc. Vol. XXX, Part II, pp. 133-34. Nalanda was a seat of Brahminical learning !!!

3. *IHQ*, I, pp. 258-259

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

inscription to indicate that the Kharparas were a local or even indigenous people. It merely states that Sultan Mahmud of Delhi appointed one Malik Julachi, a fighter against Kharpara armies, as Governor of Chedi.[1] As to who these Kharparas were or could have been, we have to consult other sources, specially the *Nābhinandana-jinoddhāra-prabandha* of Kakka Sūri (composed in V. 1393 or 1336 A. D., i.e., only eight years after the incision of the Batīhāgarh inscription) which speaks thus of the Kharpara activities in Alauddīn Khalji's reign:—[2]

Kharparādhipa-sainyāni bhramanti vishaye nije /
Tathā chakāra na yathā tatsainyam punarāgamat //

Coming after the first eight verses of the third canto describing all the other great achievements of the Khaljī Emperor—the defeat and reinstatement of the ruler of Devagiri, slaying of Hammīra of Sapādalaksha, conquest of Chitor and Malwa, subjugation of the Kārṇāṭa, Pāṇḍya and Tilinga rulers, the capture of Siwānā and Jālor—the verse quoted above obviously refers to another great achievement of Alauddin Khaljī, the defeat of the Mongols who had been a constant terror to the Empire from 1299 to 1307 A. D. and probably delayed also the Khaljī conquest of South India.

Another reference to the Kharparas is in the *Hammīramada-mardana* of Jayasimha Sūri, written somewhere between 1219 and 1229 A. D., which speaks of the invasion of India by Khappara Khāna while Milachchhrīkāra was engaged in hostilities with the Baghela prince, Vīradhavala.[3] Dr. Gaurīshankar Hīrāchand Ojha identifies Milachchhrīkāra with Sultān Iltutmish.[4] The Khappara Khāna, whose invasion made him return in hot haste to his own dominions, looks like the Mongol Chief, Changez Kahān, whose incursion into India affected permanently the position of the Slave kings in the north-western part of their empire[5].

A later reference to the Kharparas is in the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayachandra Sūri which speaks of Vāgbhaṭa's attack on Ranthambhore while his enemy, the Sultān of Delhi, was being pressed hard by the Kharparas[6]. The Kharparas of the *kāvya*, obviously, were a people strong enough to threaten the stability of the Delhi Empire. As Vāgbhaṭa lived on up to 1253 A. D. and is known to have ruled for twelve years.[7] the reference may be to the Mongol invasion of 1241 A. D. which provided the enemies of

1. *Tenajnapto Mallikosau Julachinama visrutah/*
yoddha Kharparasainyanam Chedidesadhipobhavat//
(*EI.*, XV. p. 113 f.)
2. III, 9.
3. Probably Act IV. I have mislaid the reference.
4. *History of Rajputana*, II, p. 467.
5. See Habibullah's *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Chapter IX.
6. IV, 109.
7. *Ibid.*, IV, 129.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Sultān Muizuddīn Bahrām Shāh the chance of successfully rising against and putting him to death.[1]

If these references to the Kharparas can afford any clue to the identification and location of the Kharaparikas of Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar inscription—and this can only be on the assumption that, like the names Śaka and Yavana, the name of the Kharaparikas also came later on to be applied to the people coming from the region that the Kharaparikas had once themselves inhabited—we have to conclude that the Kharaparikas of Samudragupta's time lived either in or just outside the north-western frontier of our country. They were the last of a belt of tribal republics one end of which was in S. E. Rajasthan and the other in the N. W. Frontier.

Their neighbours, the Kākas, are associated in the *Mahābhārata* with the Rishīkas, Taṇgaṇas, Paratangaṇas, and Vidabhas.[2] Rishīkas are identified by some with the Yeuchis.[3] Tangaṇas are, according to the Purāṇas, people of a region somewhere near Kashmir.[4] Vidabhas may have been Viddhals, a branch of the Yeuchi.[5] So the Kākas also, obviously were a people of the north-west. They need not be taken to the Malwa region on account of the Kākanādabota monastery at Sānchī. Buddhist *vihāras* sometimes have funny names like *Kukkuṭapāda*, *Pilusāra* and *Mrigadāva*. Kākanāda may be a name of the same type. And even if it be assumed that it is the tribe Kāka that is referred to here, it establishes nothing. If a China temple in Bengal does not turn it into China, why should a Kākanāda monastery at Sānchī turn the country into the habitat of the Kākas even though we know from other sources that they were a north-western people?

For Prārjunas the only guidance that we have is derived from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, which brackets them with another north-western people, the Gāndhāras. Both were probably non-Aryan in culture, their country being known as *Chāṇḍāla-rāṣhṭra* according to an old commentator.[6]

Harisheṇa puts the Sanakānīkas between the Prārjunas and Kākas,[7] This may have been their actual position. To assume that the Bhilsā region was their home, because a Sanakānīka Mahārāja made a donation to a shrine at Udayagiri in Chandragupta II's reign is obviously going far beyond our evidence. Donations need not be made by local people alone.

1. Habibullah—*Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 117.
2. VI, 9, 64. Quoted by Dr. Raychaudhuri in *PHAI*, p. 546, 5th edition.
3. For instance by Jayachandra Vidyalankara.
4. D. C. Sircar—*Text of the Puranic List of People*, IHQ. XXI, p. 304.
   See also the *Brihatsamhita* and *Kavyamimamsa* which assign them to the same locality.
5. See Beal—*Records of the Western World, i*, 20n i[1], 60n, ii, 370.
6. See G. Sastri's Commentary on III, 18, p. 104.
7. See the first paragraph of the paper.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Moreover if any people could claim to the territory of Bhilsā and the adjoining districts as their own in Samudragupta's reign, it is the Naga whose rule there is attested to by Purāṇic as well as numismatic testimony.[1] If a Sanakānīka Mahārāja is found at Udayagiri in Chandragupta II's reign, it is easily explainable. In his operations against the Western Satraps which lasted for a number of years, Chandragupta II had brought many of his generals, ministers and feudatories to Malwa and probably even established his headquarters somewhere near Vidiśā.[2] Under the circumstances, it was the Sanakānīka Mahārāja's bounden duty[3] to be in attendance on his overlord, if he so desired.

(2) *Kanyopāyanadāna*

Of the various means adopted by the Kushans, Śakas, the ruler of Simhala etc. to win Samudragupta's favour, one was *kanyopāyanadāna*. Fleet translates the expression as "bringing presents of maidens".[4] D. B. Diskalkar has the translation, "offering of maidens and presents".[5] Its actual meaning can be had from the following verse of the *Nābhinanadana jinoddhāraprabandha:—*

Athopetya nripāh kepi dhanyāh kanyā upāyane/
upādāya mudā tena bhūbhujā paryaṇāyayan//[6]

It is obvious from this that it was customary for feudatories and even others to bring their daughters as presents and marry them to a strong ruler, most probably to be in his good books. So *kanyopāyanadāna* obviously had two elements in it, *kanyopāyana* as well as *kanyādāna*. In this grammatical expression the word *kanyā* has to be connected with *upáyana* as well as *dāna*. This practice of कन्योपायन may be compared to that followed later on by many Rajput princes during the reign of Akbar—and his successors.

(3) *Vidvajjanopajīvyānekakāvyakriyābhih*

The expression has been translated by Fleet as "various poetical compositions that were fit to be means of subsistence of learned people".[7] I think that Fleet has missed the exact sense of the word, *upajīvya*. For this we might go to the *Kāvya-mīmāmsā* of Rājaśekhara, wherein after describing the literary court of a King-poet (as Samudragupta also was), Rājaśekhara requires the king to hold assemblies to test poets and to preside over them.[8] Of these *Sabhāpatis* or King-presidents, there were two types,

1. *New History of the Indian People*, VI, p. 141, note 2.
2. For instance Virasena Saba and Amrakardava whose records along with that of the Sanakanikas are found in the Sanchi-Vidisa area.
3. The duties imposed on them were, "*sarvakaradana-pranam agamana*"
4. Dikshitar, *Gupta Policy*, p. 341.
5. *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, I, Pt. 2, p. 46.
6. 11,707.
7. Dikshitar, *Gupta Policy*, p. 342.
8. pp. 54-55.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

"*Upajīvyah Upajivakaścha. Tatra upajāvanamātreṇa na kaschid-doshah. Yatah sarvopi parebhyah eva vyutpadyate.*"[1]

Some of them were *Upajīvya*, i. e., they themselves were composers of poetic works which supplied new ideas and forms to their courtpoets. It must have been just the reverse of this in the case of an *upajīvaka* President. Samudragupta obviously belonged to the first class of *Sabhāpatis*.

IS THE BHAMODRA MOHOTTA COPPER PLATE OF DRONASINHA SPURIOUS?

JAGAN NATH AGRAWAL

Dr. Kielhorn and Sten Know have expressed the opinion that the B. M. Plate of the Maitraka ruler Mahārāja Dronasinha is spurious.[2] They have not given any reason for this view. It may however, be presumed that their opinion is based on the difference in form and style of the present inscription and the other known Maitraka grants. For example the usual opening sentence[3] is missing in this copper plate. No genealogy has been given. But these grounds are not sufficient for doubting the authenticity of the document. It is really too much to expect strict uniformity in the form of the draft of the charters of a particular dynasty. Take the case of the Imperial Guptas. We find a great variety in the form and style of their copper plate charters.

For example, the Dhanaidah, Damodarpur and Gunaighar grants simply mention the name of the ruling sovereign, and do not give any genealogy. The Baigram copper plate of the Gupta year 128 does not even mention the name of the ruling sovereign, and is issued by a Kumarāmatya who is described as परमभट्टारकपदानुध्यातः। Yet the discovery of the Bhitari Silver Seal clearly indicates that there must have been certain records in which the complete genealogy was given. The Gupta feudatories, the kings of the family of Parivrājaka, give in their grants a complete genealogy. It is thus clear that the form of the draft varied from time to time and locality. The B. M. Copper Plate is the earliest known charter of the Maitraka family. We have no other inscription of Mahārāja Dronasinha or any of his predecessors, where the usual phraseology of later Maitraka grants occurs. It is highly likely that the set phraseso-

1. *Kavyamimamsa*, p. 61.
2. Epigraphia Indica, VIII, Appendix I, p. 2, fn. 2., and ibid, XI, p. 106, f.n.1.
3. प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसपलमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तसंप्रहारशत—
लब्धप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागानुरक्तमौलभृतमित्रश्रेणी—
बलावाप्तराज्यश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिभटार्क्कः।

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

logy of the genealogical portion met with in the later Maitraka grants had not been framed as yet.

Moreover, the inscription presents certain features which make it clear that the charter is a genuine one. Firstly the later grants inform us that Dronasinha was a feudatory ruler owing allegiance to an Imperial overlord.[1] In the present inscription also he is described as a feudatory of a sovereign.[2] and has been given the title of Mahārāja. Secondly some of the names of administrative affice which are met with only in the Maitraka grants e.g. Drangika, Dhruvādhikarṇika, are also found in the present record. The characters of the record definitely belong to this very age and do not betray any sign of a later age, as the Spurious Nālandā and Gayā Copper Plates of Samudragupta do. We may, therefore, conclude that the Bhamodra Mohotta Copper Plate of Dronasinha is a genuine charter.

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF PUSHYAMITRA AND THE EXTENT OF HIS DOMINIONS

MRS. BELA LAHIRI

The Purāṇas inform us that Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief of last Maurya monarch Brihadratha uprooted his master and founded a new dynasty designated as Śunga.[3] Bāṇa's Harshacharita[4] corroborates this account. But none of these sources give us any idea about the original home of Pushyamitra or his seat of power; nor do we know from them what portions of the derelict Maurya empire he actually usurped and ultimately managed to hold. It is, therefore, necessary to find out if other sources can throw any light on these points.

Cunningham[5] and, following him, Rapson[6] and R. P. Chanda[7] hold that Pushyamitra was a native of Vidiśā, while Tarn[8] goes a step further

1. अखिलभुवनमण्डलाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषेक: ।

This expression occours in the Maliya Copper Plate of Dharasena, and other Maitraka grants.

2. परमभट्टारकपादानुध्यातो महाराजद्रोणसिंह: कुशली ।

3. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the kali Age*, p. 70. "Pushyamitra the commander-in-chief will uproot Brihadratha and will rule the kingdom as king 36 years."

4. Harshacharita of Bana, Eng. Trans. Cowell and Thomas, p. 193. "A base-born general, Pusyamitra, pounded his foolish Maurya master Brihadratha, having displayed his whole army on the pretext of manifesting his power."

5. Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, 1870, p. 226.

6. Rapson, The Cambridge History of India, p. 522.

7. R. P. Chanda, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. V. (pp. 393 ff.)

8. W. W Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 175, n. 1.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and assumes that Pushyamitra was originally a "hereditary king" of Vidiśā. The root of all this misconception lies in a certain expression occuring in a passage in Act V of Kālidāsa's drama Mālavikāgnimitra, where Pushyamitra writes a letter to his son Agnimitra at Vidiśā inviting him to attend the horse sacrifice to be performed by the former.

The passage in question, as occurs in all the authentic versions[1] of the text runs thus:

"Svasti ! yajñaśaraṇāt senāpati Pushpamitra *Vaidiśastham* putram āyushmantam Agnimitram snehāt parishvajya anudarśayati."

But a corrupt MS. presents a different version of this passage. There "Vaidiśastham putram" is substituted by "Vaidiśastatratyam".[2] Thus while "Vaidiśastham putram" of the generally accepted versions mean "son residing at Vidiśā" and refers to Agnimitra, the component parts of the variant reading "Vaidiśastatratyam", viz., "Vaidiśah" and "tatratyam" refer respectively to Pushyamitra and Agnimitra. The expression "Vaidiśastatratyam" seems to be a copyists' mistake for "Vaidiśastham", which is more appropriate in the given context. Cunningham and his followers appear to have given undue importance to a highly doubtful expression and come to the conclusion that Pushyamitra hailed from Vidiśā.

Vidiśā, however, played a great part in the politics of the Śunga period, and was certainly ruled by princes of the Śunga extraction.[3] Vidiśā's importance during this period was acknowledged by foreign rulers and a Greek emissary named Heliodours was actually sent by the Taxilian king Antialcidas to the court of Vidiśā.[4] Yet we cannot say with any amount of certainty that Vidiśá was the *original home* of Pushyamitra and Agnimitra—only on the evidence of such facts and a certain doubtful expressions occuring in a corrupt MS. of the Mālavikāgnimitra.

While, therefore, the question of Vidiśā being the home of Pushyamitra is in dispute, Tarn's assumption that it was his "hereditary kingdom"

1. The Malavikagnimitra was first edited by a Swedish scholar, Tulberg in 1840. This was unfortunately a faulty and corrupt edition. It was followed in 1856 by a German edition by Prof. Weber, who proposed many an emendation of the Text in his Notes to his translation. The original Sanskrit drama was, however, first edited, on the collation of several trustworthy Mss. collected from different parts of India, by Shankar Pandurang Pandit of Bombay in 1869. This is a very authoritative edition and later editions by scholars and foreign translators, e.g. the French scholar Foucaux (1877), were based upon this text. The passage in question occurs in Act V. p 153, of S. P. Pandit edition (2nd edn. 1889).

2. The variant reading "Vaidisastatratyam" occurs in the edition of Kasinath Pandurang Parab of Bombay (1907).

3. The Puranas include the Sungas among the Dynasties of Vidisa—"Sunganam tu kulasyante...."

4. Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus, Sarkar, Select Inscriptions, p. 90.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

seems to be far-fetched. Had he originally been a "king", one wonders why he is always called a "senāpati" but never a 'rājā'.[1]

Accounts of a Pushyamitra is told in the Divyāvadāna.[2] where he is represented as the last Maurya king, with whom ended his dynasty. Evidently, the Buddhist text has made a confusion with Pushyamitra, the Maurya general who murdered his master Brihadratha and thus brought about the end of the Maurya line. Pushyamitra of the Divyāvadāna can be none other than Pushyamitra of the Purāṇas and other ancient texts.

That Pāṭaliputra was Pushyamitra's seat of power is clear from the Divyāvadāna story about his alleged anti-Buddhist campaigns. Pushyamitra, on his initial failure in destroying the Kukkuṭārāma Vihāra, situated near Pāṭaliputra, returned to that city. This fact proves that it was until then in his own possession. And it is quite natural that Pushyamitra who usurped the Maurya throne, should continue to rule from the Maurya capital Pāṭaliputra.

The above Buddhist text also indicates that Pushyamitra's sphere of influence extended as far as Śākala in the eastern Punjab, otherwise he could not have made the sort of ruthless persecution that is attributed to him in the story.

The Mālavikāgnimitra also indicates that Pushyamitra's dominions extended upto the great Punjab river Sindhu or the Indus. In his letter to Agnimitra,[3] as already referred to, Pushyamitra informs that some skirmishes took place between his forces and a Yavana cavalry on the 'dakshiṇa' bank of the Sindhu, while the sacrificial horse was being led by Agnimitra's son Vasumitra. H. H. Wilson[4] rightly identified this Sindhu with the well-known river of that name in the Punjab. But Cunningham[5] objected to this and Agnimitra were "rulers of Vidiśā" and therefore Pushyamitra's forces could not be expected to reach as far as the Indus; and secondly, that the Sindhu of the Punjab has no *dakshiṇa*,

1. All known sources, specially the Puranas, Bana's Harsha-Charita and even the inscription of his own descendant Dhanadeva, refer to Pushyamitra as a Senapati. And the anomaly is that while Pushyamitra is nowhere entitled as "raja", his son Agnimitra is conferred the royal title even when he was only a viceroy (Goptri) at Vidisa (Malavikagnimitra, Act V.). Moreover, other sources also indicate that Pushyamitra's origin was by no means *royal*. For, Taranath calls him a royal purohita (V. Smith, E. H. I. p. 213, n. 1). And the Harivamsa story, in connection with the revival of the Asvamedha in the Kaliyuga, about a "Senani" who was a Brahmana and '*audbhijja*", i.e. plant-born or *upstart*, apparently refers to Pushyamitra, as Jayaswal has rightly pointed out (J. B. O. R. S., XIV, 1928, pp. 24-27).

2. Divyavadana, Cowell and Neil, pp. 433-34.

3. S. P. Pandit, Act. V, p. 153.

4. H. H. Wilson, Theatre of the Hindus, Vol. II, p. 353.

5. Cunningham, Num. Chron., 1870, pp. 226-7.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

i.e. south bank. But both the objections of Cunningham can be waived aside. Pushyamitra's dominions were confined only within the limits of Vidiśā is not corroborated by any clear evidence. On the contrary, there are indications that his territories extended far beyond Vidiśā.

The Mālavikāgnimitra makes it evident that to the south, Pushyamitra commanded territories as far as the Narmadā, and even up to the Wardhā. For, the drama informs us that one Vīrasena, a brother-in-law of his son Agnimitra was appointed as an "antapāla" in a fort on the banks of the Narmadā.[1] And Agnimitra's wars with the adjoining state of Vidarbha, as alluded to in the drama, resulted in the acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the house of Pushyamitra, by the rulers of Vidarbha.[2]

The Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva[3] gives evidence to the apparent inclusion of the kingdom of Kośala within Pushyamitra's dominions. Dhanadeva, who with pride claims to be the sixth in descent from "Senāpati" Pushyamitra, the performer of two aśvamedhas, almost certainly got Koaśla as a hereditary kingdom since the days of Pushyamitra. And we have already noted that Pāṭaliputra was the seat of his power and hence included within his empire. Thus it would not be perhaps, too much to hold that the arms of Pushyamitra, the usurper of the Maurya sovereignty, (who commanded territories from Pāṭaliputra in the east to the Narmadā and the Wardhā in the South, including Kośala and Vidiśā) should reach as far as the Sindhu in the Punjab, specially when there is also a Buddhist tradition to that effect[4].

1. "Atthi devie vannavaro bhada Viraseno nama, so bhattina antavaladugge Nammadatire thavido" (Act I).
Some of the manuscripts mention "Mandakini" as the name of the river. Mandakini is a river, according to the Vayu Purana, that flows from the Riksha mountain. Pargiter (J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 260), however, knows two rivers of this name, one in the Banda Dist. of Bundelkhand, and the other a southern tributary of the Godavari.
S. P. Pandit, in his note (p. 166), says that "it is probable that it may here stand for the Narmada, in conformity with a practice, still very common all over India, of designating any sacred river by the most sacred river-name, as Ganga &c. The apparent difficulty, however, would disappear by our reading with G. "nammada (kule)" for "Manda-ini-(dire)." This Telegu MS (G) is called by Pandit "a very correct MS. almost free from error."

2. Act V, v. 14, S. P. Pandit, p. 147.

3. Sarkar, Select Inscriptions, p. 96.

4. Divyavadana, Cowell and Neil, pp. 433-34;
Manjusrimulakalpa, Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, pp. 18-19; Taranath (Schiefner's translation, p. 81 in V. Smith, H.I.-4th ed. p. 213, n. 1) also records a Buddhist tradition that Pushyamitra burnt a number of monasteries *from Madhyadesa as far as Jalandhara.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Then as to the Indus' having a south bank it is not unlikely, as shown by Dr. R. C. Majumdar,[1] that in olden days it might have followed a different course so as to create a south bank. Moreover, "dakshiṇa" in Sanskrit does not always mean "south"; it also means right, as opposed to 'left'. The existence of Greek settlements on the right bank of the Indus is attested by numismatic evidence while on the other hand, it is highly disputable if the Greeks actually reached as far as the Sindhu of Narwar with which Cunningham sought to identify the river in question. Had it been the Sindhu of Narwar, one wonders why Agnimitra, who was nearer to that river than Pushyamitra, remained ignorant of his son's victory till Pushyamitra informed him of it. The Punjab Sindhu being the river in question, the news first reached the capital city of Pāṭaliputra, whence Pushyamitra relayed it to Agnimitra at the outlying province of Vidiśā.

According to the Divyāvadāna story, Pushyamitra in his pursuit of anti-Buddhist campaigns marched much beyond Śākala in the north-west, but ultimately met his doom when he reached the kingdom of Koshṭhaka, then being ruled by a Yaksha. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa[2] also describes similar anti-Buddhist exploits of one Gomi-mukhya (rightly identified by Jayaswal with Pushyamitra), who rose to power just after the fall of the Mauryas and "seized the East and the Gate of Kashmir" but met his death in the North. It is not unlikely that these traditional Buddhist legends are founded on some amount of truth. All that they indicate is that Pushyamitra probably made a vain attempt at extending his suzerainty as far as the frontiers of Kashmir and probably came in contact with some alien ruler, who ultimately put him to death.

MONUMENTAL RELICS OF INDO ARYAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE IN CUTCH....

RAVISHANKAR N. RAO.

In this year 1954 Sept., I had an opportunity to make a cultural tour in Cutch to see and study folk-life and local back ground of the province at the invitation of my friend Shri Ramsinghji Rathod, the forest officer of the state. I wanted to have a first-hand view of figures and forms to illustrate some chapters of his m.s.s. on cutch. The state administrators took a great interest in my findings and I am glad to note that I have got to offer to scholars news about the ancient temples of Cutch that have not

1. R. C. Majumdar, Ind. Hist. Quart. Vol. I (1925), pp. 214 ff.
2. Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, pp. 18-19.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

been reported and recorded in survey publications nor their histroy explored.

We hardly have known any architectural monumet of note of pre-Chaulukya period existing in western India except small shrines of Gop, some shrines at Ghumali and Soan Talao and so called Ranak mandir at Wadhwan. But it was a great surprise to me that in Cutch, a flourishing form of the same tradition existed before Chaulukyans stepped in Cutch.

The ruined temples at Kera Kotay and Punvra-gadh offer a study in sequences of time and style. They are attributed to the donations of Lakha Phulani who was defeated and rooted by Mulraj Solanky in about 975 A. C. But no inscriptions are found about such big temples being built by him. The culture of Lakha was a mixture of Sindhi and border-line of India. His stories and narrations offer none of Aryan traditions though he was a hero of many valorass fueds.

These temples after careful study, I believe are in direct relation to the pure Indo Aryan structures evolved in seventh century in Orissa temples of which the Parshurāmeshwar temple, the earliest of the groups is confirming to the ground plans of Cutch temples.

The temples are in total delapidated condition, yet they satisfy all their claims to belong to classic period of later Guptas by excellent sculptural figures on the out side walls, decorative forms and mouldings for different than Chalukya styles.

The Kera temple is the largest and richest but requires immediate attention and recovery. Its high spire is half crumpled and large slabs are heaped down in a threatening pile.

The special feature of these temples is that they have therin Rang-mandap with walls around and only a door in the front. This Mandap is roofed by a gable form of slabs like Mārtand temple of Kashmir and the ceiling is supported by four or eight pillars within a straight row from the door of the cell.

The cell-dome is raised by corbelled stones with occasional corner angles to make an actagone supporting for the height of the spire. There is no window or hole in the cell whose outer form is the carved spire. Only in Kera temple there is a circumscribing path protected by heavy slabs. The path is lighted by screen windows of square holes on three sides. The outside form of these windows looks like a Viman formation which in later period appears as small balcony windows. This screen window is a common feature at Kera and Kotay temples.

None of these temples have decorative belts (Tharas) in the plinth nor they are very much raised from the ground except at Kotai where real base of the spire begins at the height of about 10 feet, but no decorations of belts or cornices. Even the figures with beautiful and very ele-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

gant poses are scattered with tastes without over-crowding like Chaulakya traditions. Vandals have used their axes on the noses and even planed down the faces and bossomss, yet there is unmistakable charms of proportion and grace found at Ajantā and Ellorā.

At Kotai temple small figurins placed on bracklets of about ten inches we see couples engaged in happy conversation, quite a rear feature found on this side of India, but profuse at Ajantā. One of these couples is enjoying a guitar (a string instrument) of a bow form, seen on the coins of Kumār Gupta. No where else similar episode is found. This is very significant because Guptas extended their rule to this land and I even came to know that coins of Kumār Gupta and Skanda Gupta were found in this soil and are deposited at Price of Wales museum, Bombay.

The ground plan of Kotai and Puvra temples can be seen but the plans of Kaira are covered in a huge debris of stones, some of which present excellant carved figures. It was told that before two years there was a door-way of exquisite beauty, but that is no more now. Half the spire of Kaira is now in immediate danger of following in heaps unless prompt attention is not given. If expert survey and removation are launched at the place, I am sure India would see a most ancient and magnificant relic of built architecture of later Gupta style or Northen Indo Aryan style to form a missing link in Western India with Central and Eastern India.

A miniature model of Kotai temple is placed at Saratbag (Bhuj.) It gives a fair view of the structure of the temple but to visit the original site is romantic experience. I was told there are many other sites of ruins and stones round about telling of the past glories which are unrecorded and unexplored. The whole area is known as Unghore Gadh.

A fresh survey of plans and photographs of sites and details will convince the scholars and Historians of the importance of their protection-care and publicity.

A NEW MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION

Dr. H. V. Trivedi

SUMMARY

This article deals with a new stone inscription recently discovered at Mandasor, the site of the ancient city of Daśapura in Madhya Bhārat. The stone on which it is engraved was turned up by a plough in a field there and is now preserved in the local Intermediate College. The existing portion of the record, which is in the Gupta script, shows eleven lines of writing and the lower portion, which may have borne some 2-3 lines

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

engraved on it, has peeled off. Besides, some 2-3 letters at the beginning and end of each of the lines have been damaged or disappeared much affecting the sense.

The existing portion of the record is *c.* 10" high and *c* 9½" broad and is metrically composed. the *anushṭubh* meter being used throughout. The script resembles that of the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and seven verses, with some of their letters missing, could be restored.

The purpose of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well by a *Sārvabhauma*, imperial ruler, whose name is unfortunately missing. It also mentions the names of Narendrādityavardhana, Rāshṭravardhana, Yaśogupta and a *Mahārāja* of the name of Gaurin, some of them being not otherwise known. An attempt is made here to identify them. The name of Mandasor figures in the record as *puradaśāhvaya*. The document is of much historical importance.

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The inscription described here for the first time was found at Mandasor, the site of the ancient city of Daśapura. The stone bearing the record was discovered in a field about 5-6 years ago, and till very recently it lay in the construction of the platform of a mud-built small house of the cultivator, in one of the corners in the same field. Accidently it came to the notice of one of the staff members of the local Intermediate College, where it was removed. Subsequently, on receiving the information of this find from Dr. Raghubīr Singh of Sitamau, I visited the place in November, 1954, and in my examination I noticed that a portion of the stone bearing some lower lines of the record was still missing. In my search of its findspot, I succeeded in detecting its base, imbedded in the same platform, and it was also removed to the College. All attempts to discover the missing part of the record, however, were futile. It was calculated to contain some 2-3 lines.

The existing portion of the record is engraved on a small pillar, square in size and was calculated to be of the height of about 16 inches, in original. The portion above the inscription contains the design of a Wheel-like object, with solid spokes and with a diameter of about 6" from inside and 9½" from outside.

The inscribed portion contains eleven lines of writing, measuring about 10" by 9½", and some 2-3 lines have peeled of at the bottom, as known from the purpose of the record. The average size of the letters varies from ¼" to ¾". The language of the record is Sanskrit and the whole of it is in the *Anushṭubh* meter. Seven of the verses could be restored but some 2-3 letters at the beginning and end of each of the lines is missing, and thus a complete sense cannot be made out. It must be stated here, however, that in reading of the record, which is appended to this note, the missing

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

portion has been conjecturally restored, according to the exigencies of the meter. The script resembles that of the Kumāragupta inscription of Mandasor, for which, see E.I., XII.

The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well by a *Sārvvabhauma* an imperial ruler, whose name is missing. The initial portion of the record mentions a son of Rāshṭravardhana (*Rāshṭravardhanasatputrah*) and possibly the son of Rāshṭravardhana, whose name too is unfortunately lost, may have been intended here. That this Rāshṭravardhana was the same as Rājyavardhana, the brother of Harshavardhana of the Pushpabhūti house, is known from the mention of Ādityavardhana, whose name figures in line 3 and only one line above, though the relationship of both these rulers, which we know from other sources, is not mentioned in the present record in the portion existing.[1] The beginning of the record refers itself to the victorious march of a prince to Mandasor; but it is most unfortunate that his name too is lost. We are further on told that this prince (?) was appointed, probably a governor, by the *Yaśoguptas*, as goes the expression; and it is not known whether any one of the Gupta monarchs is meant here, or the plural number is used only to show respect. This period saw many vicissitudes in the history of Malwa; and Yaśogupta may have one of the successors of Bhānugupta Bāliditya II, like Gopachandra, Vajra and Prakāsā- —about whom we know nothing besides their names. The Pushyabhūti-Gupta alliance of the time is well-known; it has been alluded to in epigraphical and other records and the *Harsha-Charita* tells us that Mādhavagupta, son of a king of Malwa, was a companion of Rājyavardhana and Harshavardhana. In the light of this information, it is possible that Mādhavagupta or his father Mahāsenagupta, the contemporary Gupta ruler, may have been referred to here. Whatever be the case, the record throws welcome light on the cordial relations existing between the two houses.

The record also mentions one *Mahārāja-Gaurin*, who is not otherwise known, nor can he be identified because of the missing portion which alludes to him. His mother's name is stated to be Hariśrī, and that of his maternal-grandfather, which too was mentioned in it, is missing. This information too is new and awaits to be corroborated by some new find, whenever it is available. The gist of the record, however, appears to be

1. Narendraditya was the title of Sasanka, king of Gauda, and it is not known if the expression of the record refers to him. He is known to have invaded Harshavardhana's kingdom. In that case the expression *Maharaja-Gaurina* may be taken in the sense of *Gaudina*, i.e. of Gauda, Bengal. We also know this prince had launched a career of conquest, which may have been referred to in the initial portion of the inscription. We also know that a Gupta king of the name of Devagupta, who had sided him, was hostile to the family of Harshavardhana, as mentioned in the Madhuban plate inscription. But Sasanka's successful march so far from his kingdom up to Malwa seems rather not possible.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

that a successor of Ādityavardhana, the brother of Harshavardhana, was appointed an officer by the contemporary Gupta monarch, and later on, assuming the status of an imperial ruler, he may have resided for some time at Mandasor, where he excavated a well, in memory of his deceased mother Hariśrī.

Puradaśāhvayam mentioned in the record is evidently Mandasor. No other geographical name is mentioned in it.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE INDRAGARH STONE INSCRIPTION

Dr. H. V. Trivedi

In one of the previous issues of the *Ind. Historical Quarterly*[1] I have published a preliminary note on the Rāshṭrakūṭa stone inscription, dated V. S. 767 expired, recently found at Indragarh, at a distance of about 2-3 miles north-west of Bhānpura in the Mandasor district of Madhya Bhārat. It records the building of a Śaiva temple by a *Pāśupatāchārya*, a Śaivite teacher of the Pāśupata sect, who was a disciple of Vinītarāśi, and whose name was Dānarāśi. The temple, as we are told, was built in the reign of king Ṇaṇṇa, who is stated to belong to the illustrious Rāshṭrakūṭa house of Bhāmāna,[2] but his genealogy is not mentioned in the record, which was not put by any royal decree but the religious head of a Sect of the Śaivas. Nor do we find the mention of any of the specific exploits of this prince, and in the note referred to above, I have suggested his identity with the prince of his namesake who issued the Multāi and the Tivarkheḍ plates. This identification was based on some grounds, which we are to consider below; but we cannot altogether lose sight of the fact that Rāshṭrakūṭa was a name of office, like that of the Deshmukha and Deshpande, and also that the Rashṭrakuṭas of the south are taken by some as different from those of the north.[3] In view of this all it has become necessary to examine the problem again, to see what new light is thereby thrown on it. In the end of this note I have also dealt with the religious history of the country.

Here it is noteworthy, however, that(1) so far no inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house of Mālkheḍ has been discovered in these parts; and that (2) all known records of the house are dated in the Śaka era, whereas the present record bears the date in the Vikrama era. The first of these

1. Vol. XXX, p. 193.

2. This is from my reading of the stone. In the *IHQ*, I have mentioned the reading as *Bhasvan*, which has to be corrected accordingly.

3. As suggested by Dr. Altekar and Prof. Mirashi, in their letters to me.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

points I have already solved in my note referred to above, and the second may be replied by saying that it shows only a local usage, and that the record was not put by any royal decree, as already stated above.

Thus, whereas it is not possible to altogether ignore the other view, viz. that the Ṇaṇṇa of the present record may not have belonged to the main house of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and may also be one of the northerners, as known from a separate branch thereof which is known to have flourished at Paṭhārī, I am inclined to hold that the prince more likely belonged to the main house; some of the reasons leading me to this view are already stated in my note above; and here I give more reasons in support of my holding this view.

The year of the inscription is 767 expired of the V. era, which corresponds to 711 A. D., which is only 2-3 years later than that of the Multāi plate record. The genuineness of this record has been questioned by Dr. A. S. Altekar, arguing that the genealogy mentioned in it begins in verse and it has a sudden break of sentence in prose, followed by a verse again. But this does not necessarily prove that its date too is wrong. On the other hand, I am inclined to agree with D. R. Bhandarkar, who, in his *List of Inscrs.* of *N. India*, p. 145, n. 1, remarks that the year 553, the date of the Tivarkheḍ record may be a mistake for 653, not only because its text is full of inaccuracies but also, and more for the reason, that the Solar eclipse mentioned in it actually fell in 653 and not in 553 V. S.

In view of this all, it may be stated that our Ṇaṇṇa seems to have flourished some time in the first quarter of the eighth century A. D., and thus he may have been a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda, his son Karka or/and his son Indra I. But as neither Ṇaṇṇa nor his predecessor Bhāmāna is found mentioned in the genealogy of the main line of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house of Mālkheḍ, the only alternative before us is to take these princes as belonging to a collateral line, connected by blood-relationship with the main line, for reasons already adduced by Dr. Altekar, in his *Hist. of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 8-9.

In this connection we have also to take into account some of the statements of the Undikavāṭikā and the Paṇḍarangapalli grants, to see whether and if so, how far they enlighten us on the point. Dr. D. C. Sircar holds that the identification of Mānānka of the former of these grants with the same prince mentioned in the latter is very probable; and that the discovery of the latter may go to show that he ruled somewhere in the S. Maratha Country[1]. In both the documents the name of Mānānka's son is given as Devarāja, and this goes to confirm the identification. The name of the successor of Devarāja in the Uṇḍikavāṭika grant is mentioned as Bhavishya, while that in the Paṇḍarangapalli grant it figures as Abhi-

1. *A New Hist. of the Ind. People, p.* 88, *n.* 1.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

dheya. Thus it appears possible that both these may have been brothers, the former continuing to rule in his ancestral dominions in the south, and the latter, governing the territory in the north, i.e. in Berar, which may have been acquired by himself or which may have been placed in his charge by his father or grandfather, who is known to have conquered it.[1] The captial of Abhimanyu was at Mānapura, which, according to some, was the modern Manpur near Bandhogarh in Rewa; but this is less convincing, in view of the consideration that a petty ruler may have extended his sway so far as in the Vindhya Pradesh. On the other hand, I am inclined to agree with Fleet and Dr. Altekar, who take it as the same as the present town of Manpur[2] (Indore district), about eight miles from Mhow, on the Agra-Bombay road, on account of its proximity to Berar. This view is also corroborated by the discovery of some old sculptures and remains of a temple at that place executed in the South Indian style and can be assigned to *c.* 8-9th century A. D.[3]

The record does not mention the name of the place where the temple was built; but traces of a rempart wall and inhabited houses inside the walls go to suggest that it was the very site of the structure. The name of Indragarh, as the similarity shows, may have been bestowed upon the place, in some later times after one of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of the name of Indra, who may have been popular on account of his exploits, munificence etc. there. This suggestion, however, is based on mere similarity of names and not on any cogent reason. It may or may not be so.

Placing all these points before the eminent scholars assembled here, I request them to throw light on the point to decide the identity of Ṇaṇṇa of the Rāshṭrakūṭa record discovered at Indragarh, which throws a flood of light on the early history of the house as also of this part of the country.

II. Religious

The inscription records the erection of a temple of Śiva under the name *Svayambhū* and *Guheśvara*. The temple was erected by a *Pāśupata* teacher of the name of Dānarāśi, a disciple of an ascetic teacher of the name of Vinītarāśi. The names of these teachers and in *Rāśi*, and it is interesting to note that in this respect they resemble the names of Kārttikarāśi and Vālmikirasi, two *Pāśupata Āchāryas* mentioned in the Chintra *praśasti*.[4] Another *Āchārya* of this type is Hārītarāśi, mentioned in a record from

1. As the Pandarangapalli grant seems to suggest.

2. The Rashtrakutas and Their Times, p. 5.

3. In a letter to me Dr. H. D. Sankalia also suggests that he is definite about the Rashtrakuta rule in this region, and that he has succeeded noticing some sculptures and temples at Maheshwar, which are defintely in the South Indian style. Maheshwar is in the same region as of Manpur.

4. *E.I.*, I, p. 281.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chittorgarh,[1] and still another, Rudrarāśi, from Lāṭadeśa.[2] All these were *Pāśupata Āchāryas* or the preceptors of the *Pāśupata* sect of Śaivism. It is not known whether these houses were mutually connected; however, the epithets of Vīnītarāsi, mentioned in the present record, throws important light on the point. This sect, prescribing certain austerities and religious practices, is also known as of Lakulīśa, in consequence of its having been originated from Lakulī, the last incarnation of Śiva (Maheśvara). This incarnation appeared at Kāyāvarohaṇa, which is identified with Kārvaṇ in Baroda; and from Gujarat it spread in Malwa, up to Bhānpurā, situated in the northernmost part of the region. This view is corroborated from the fact that Modī, a village about seven miles northwest from Bhānpurā, there exists a delapidated temple of Lakulīśa,[3] and at Jhālrā-Pāṭan, about 25 miles from Bhānpurā, was found an inscription in which a sage of the name of Iśānamuni who is compared to Lakulīśa.[4] It will thus appear that the sect of Lakulīśa had spread in Gujarat and Malwa; and the information culled herein not only strengthens the suggestion of D. R. Bhandarkar that the descendents of the second of the four disciples of Lakulīśa, Garga by name, established themselves in Kāṭhiawar,[5] but also supplements it by showing that the sect had spread in the whole of the region embracing Gujarat-Kāṭhiawar and Malwa. Rather we have glimpses of the spread of the same, in our record, up to Bengal in the far east, which we shall just show.

The record mentions that Durgāditya, son of Śankara who hailed from Gauḍadeśa (Bengal), was the first to perform on this spot, the worship of the spiritual ancestors (probably by worshipping the newly-installed image). This shows a sort of cultural contact between the two distant regions—Malwa and Bengal. We know that the Pāśupata sect was current in a later age under the Kalachuris, who erected temples, established Śaiva monasteries and made gifts to them. The *adhishṭhātās* of these institutions are known to have come from Gujarat. Thus we may say that the *Pāśupata* sect was current not only in the regions mentioned above, but also in Chedi-deśa and Bengal, of which we have other evidences, as well. Thus the whole tract from Gujarat-Kāṭhiawar in the west to Bengal in the east, embraced this sect, the detailed study of which deserves further attempts.

Along with the Brāhmanical sculptures some Jain antiquities have also been discovered on the site and in the neighbouring regions. This

1. Bhandarkar's List No. 593.
2. *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 209, n.
3. For Modi, see *ASIR.* WC., 1912-3, p. 56; *ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 94; for Jhalra-Patan, see *JBBRAS.*, XXII, p. 158.
4. As in f. n. No. 3.
5. *R.I.*, XXI, p. 6.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

shows that the religions, viz. Hinduism and Jainism, were harmoniously and concurrently flourishing in the region without any dispute among them.

THE DATE OF PUSYAMITRA ŚUNGA

SUDHAKAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

According to the Purāṇic account, Pusyamitra, the commander-in-chief, uprooted Brihadratha and, according to the Matsya version, ruled the kingdom for 36 years, while, according to the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, for 60 years. (Pargiter, DKA, P. 31). Historians have generally preferred the Matsya Purāṇa account and believe that the commander-in-chief ruled from C. 187 B. C. to 151 B. C. The Purāṇic chronology is defective in many points, and I shall try to show that the same account regarding Pusyamitra can hardly be accepted,

It is now an admitted fact that the Greeks of Bactria invaded North-India during the reign of the great Senāpati. Our chief sources for this topic are the Mahābhāsya of Patañjali and the Yuga-Purāṇa section of the Gārgī-Samhitā. From the Mahābhāsya we learn that the Yavanas beseiged Sāketa and Madhyamikā. The Yuga-Purāṇa furnishes us with the following details:—

(i) That the Yavanas in course of their campaign advanced as far as Pāṭaliputra;

(ii) That there was no Indian King (in Pāṭaliputra?) during the period of Yavana occupation;

(iii) That the Yavanas ultimately withdrew from the Madhyadeśa on account of a civil war in their own home.

Let us now determine when this Yavana invasion took place as a result of which Indian kings disappeared, and for this we have to turn to the history of Bactria. About 250 B. C. the revolt of Bactria against the Seleucidan rule began under Diodotus I. The revolution was a slow process tarminating during the reign of his son Diodotus II, who however, must have died before 206 B. C. for when in that year Antiochus III, the Seleucid king, went to recover the lost province, the throne of the country was occupied by one Euthydemus, a native of Magnesia. We learn from Polybius, that after a protrocted seige, Antiochus III recognized the independence of Bactria, and secondly, that he crossed the Hindukush and renewed his friendship with king Sophogasena, who may have been a grandson of Aśoka, as Prof. F. W. Thomas suggests, "quoting the statement of Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, that Aśoka's son Vīrasena was the king of Gandhāra, and observing how names in—sena run in families." Thus we find that in c. 206 B. C., the Mauryas were still ruling in India, and that the Bactrian invasion of India had not yet begun.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Tarn has adduced good grounds for believing that Euthydemus died about 189 B. C., when his son Demetrius came to the throne. We know that the Maurya dynasty came to an end two years later in c. 187 B. C. Demetrius led an invasion into India and advanced as far as Pāṭaliputra, for, according to the Gārgī-Samhitā, the leader of the Yavana invasion was Dhama-mita, who, as Levi points out, may be identified with Demetrius, and this seige was withdrawn when there was a civil war in the home of the Bactrians. It evidently refers to the rise of Eucratides, who, as Polybius states, occupied the throne of Bactria, when Demetrius was out on his Indian conquests. According to Justin, Eucratides came to power "almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians," Mithridates ruled from c. 171 to 138/7 B. C., and we may thus assume that the Greek civil war referred to in the Gārgī-Samhitā occured about 171 B.C., when Demetrius was compelled to withdraw from the Madhyadeśa.

Thus within sixteen years from the fall of the Maurya dynasty (187-171 B. C.), there occured the following events in the history of India—the accession of Pusyamitra, the Greek occupation of North India as far as Pāṭaliputra, and its withdrawal.

Now, the Gārgī-Samhitā states that there was no king during the time of the Greek occupation. This shows indirectly that the rule of Pusyamitra came to an end before 171 B. C., and when about that time the Greeks withdrew from the heart of Āryāvarta, Indian kingship was revived again possibly in the person of Agnimitra, the son of Pusyamitra.

If, on the other hand, we hold that Pusyamitra ruled for 36 years (or 60 years) the whole chronology becomes upset. The Purāṇas state that the Śunga kings ruled for "full 112 years;" then the four kings of the Kāṇva dynasty ruled for "45 years". The last Kāṇva king was overthrown by Simoka, the founder of the Āndhra or the Sātavāhana dynasty. Thus we get 30 B. C., as the date when Simoka overthrew the rule of the Kāṇvas. Let us now see how far it tallies with other evidences.

The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela informs us that the Kalinga king was a contemporary of king Śātakarṇi who has been identified with the third king of the Sātavāhana line of the same name. The date of Khāravela can be determined from the following facts:—

(i) the scripts of the Hāthigumphā records are more developed than those of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus.

(ii) the sculptures of the Mañcapuri caves, in which there is an inscription of Khāravela's queen, must be posterior to the sculptures of Bhārhuta.

(iii) the Hāthigumphā record refers to the enlargement of a canal, that was excavated three hundred years before by a Nanda king, in the fifth regnal year of Khāravala.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

All these point to the later half of the first century B. C. as the time of Khāravala. The Mauryas who succeeded the Nandas came to power c. 324 B. C., and hence the fifth regnal year of Khāravela cannot be later than 24 B. C., and, therefore, his second regnal year, when he came into contact with Śātakarṇi, according to L. 4 of the Hāthigumphā record, cannot be later than 27 B. C. Now, before Śātakarṇi ruled Krishṇa for 10 years, according to the Purāṇic account, and how then can we hold after the Purāṇas that the Kāṇva dynasty was supplanted in 30 B. C. by the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty?

The above discussions clearly show that the Purāṇic account of the Śungas is defective, and the same must now be revised in the light of the evidences furnished by the Gārgī-Samhitā and the Divyāvadāna. The Gārgī-Samhitā informs us that there was no king during the period of Greek occupation, while the Divyāvadāna states that Krimisa-Demetrius killed Pusyamitra.[1] This naturally leads us to infer that Demetrius could occupy North India after he had killed Pusyamitra. Pusyamitra evidently tried to check the Yavana advance into the interior of India. We learn from the Mālavikāgnimitram that Pusyamitra made arrangements for an Aśvamedha sacrifice, and the horse was allowed to roam being guarded by Vasumitra (the son of Agnimitra and grandson of Pusyamitra) accompanied by hundred other princes (rājaputraśataparivrtam). The horse entered the territory of the Yavanas on the southern bank of the Sindhu, usually identified with Kali-Sindhu, a tributary of the Charmaṇvati (chambal), and in the war that followed the Yavanas were defeated.

This event must have happened before Demetrius occupied the Madhyadeśa and Pāṭaliputra, for according to the Gārgī-Samhitā, the Greeks completely evacuted Madhyadeśa when civil war started in their home. But the picture of the Mālavikāgnimitram shows that they were, at the time of the war, on the western part of the Madhyadeśa, while the rest of the division was evidently under the occupation of Pusyamitra. This phase can only be explained by the supposition that when the Greeks were advancing towards India and they had occupied the western part of the Madhyadeśa, they were opposed and defeated by Pusyamitra.

From the death of Pusyamitra to c. 171 B. C., when Demetrius withdrew from the Madhyadeśa, there was no king in North-India. In c. 171 B. C., Asiatic factors led to the restoration of Indian royal line, and if we hold that Agnimitra came to the throne in that year then the rule of the Śungas would come to an and c. 89 B. C., and that of the Kānvas c. 44 B. C., a year that may fall within the reign of Simuka, who overthrew Suśarman, the lst Kāṇva king.

Thus the Śunga chronology as given in the Purāṇas needs a revision.

1. IHQ. XXII. 86.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The defect in the account is evidently due to a wrong number of regnal years attributed to Pusyamitra, who according to the Matsya Purāṇa ruled for 36 years, and acccording to the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas 60 years. But neither of the statements can be accepted as Pusyamitra came to power c. 187 B. C., while his rule terminated before 171 B. C.

REMARKS ON 'APRATĪGHA' COINS

B. P. Sinha

In the Bayana hoard were found 8 coins of 'Apratīgha' type belonging to Kumāragupta I,[1] which were at earlier referred to as Śrī Pratāpa type on the basis of the reading on the reverse.[2] On the obverse the legend is Kumāragupta, though the letters are arranged in a peculiar order. They are written vertically on both sides of the central figure, starting from top to bottom in his left and carried on in the right to be read from below to top. The obverse scene and the legend round the flan have not been yet satisfactorily explained. According to Allan "should a specimen with a legible inscription be found some light may be thrown on the type which till then must remain a puzzle".[3] Though 8 more specimens have been found, the type yet remains a puzzle.

The main difficulty is the explanation of the obverse scene. The obverse has been described as such—"Three persons standing; the Central one is a male figure standing facing with hands folded on chest. He wears a simple dhoti, with its pleats hanging between the legs. There is either a protuberance on the head, as on the Buddha figures, or hair is tied in a knot on the top of the head—the figure wears no ornaments or royal insignia.....To the proper right of the central figure is a male figure standing, profile to right and apparently holding a shield in the left hand, and in the right hand he is holding a garuḍa standard which can be seen between the two figures; to the proper left of Kumāragupta (the central figure) there is a female standing to left with the right hand bent up in the attitude of *vitarka* (argumentation.)[4]" Mirashi[5] has suggested that the central figure is of some saint whom the king and the queen have gone to consult in the night in connection with a state of calamity most probably the rebellion of the Pushyamitras. According to R.C. Mazum-

1. JNSI-Xpp. 115-116
2. GCGDBM, P. xcii
3. Ibid
4. Catalogue of the Benyana hoard pp. cx-cxi
5. JNSI XI, p. 64; JNSI. XII. p. 62.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

dar[1] the legend on the obverse is Mihirakula and the scene is the Purāṇic scene of allurement, the central figure with the half moon above the head, is Śiva and on the two sides are Pārvatī and Nandī. According to Dr Altekar,[2] the central figure is Kumāragupta with the commander-in-chief on his right and the queen on his left, and the whole scene suggests Kumāragupta's abdication and assumption of a life of renunciation and notwithstanding the appeals and arguments of his commander-in-chief and his queen, he is unconquerable, does not flinch from his determination which is clear from the epithet Apratīgha on the reverse.

So far as Dr Majumdar's reading of Mihirakula on the obverse is concerned, it is most unlikely. The reading is Kumāragupta. In the Beyana Hoard only coins of the Gupta emperors down to Kumāragupta I (and possibly to Skandagupta, if the Kramāditya of the single coin is identified with Skandagupta) are found. No coin of successors of Skandagupta has been found in the hoard which appears to have been buried in 455-56 A. D. Mihirakula's rule is to be placed in the 6th century A. D., and there is no reasonable explanation given as to why a coin of Mihirakula could be found in this hoard. The reverse with Lakshmī on double lotus throne is a common feature on Gupta coins. Mirashi's suggestion is interesting, but the fact that the full legend Kumarāgupta is completed on the two sides of the central figure is a strong indication that the central figure is Kumarāgupta himself.

Kumāragupta with long loose robe with arms on breast (in Jñānamudra's attitude) with a protuberance on his head and without any regal insignia on his body appeares to be in the form of a recluse, renunciating the throne and regal honour. According to Altekar though it suggests abdication of his kingdom by Kumāragupta there is "as yet no other evidence to show that Kumāragupta had abdicated from the throne and had become either a Hindu Sanyāsī or a Buddhist monk."[3] But we may point out to some such evidences.

Kathāsaritasāgara contains the story of Vikramāditya who is the son of Mahendrāditya, a world conquering king who resided at Ujjayainī. It is said that when the Mlechcha's were creating havoc on the earth, gods headed by Indra prayed to Śiva for protection, and the latter assured them protection and directed his gaṇa Malyavat to be born as a son of Mahendrāditya and Saumyadarśanā and to reduce the Yakshas, Rākshasas and the Vetalas and others; thus was Vikramāditya or Vikramasīla born. He was very brave and he conquered many kings. King Mahendrāditya seeing that his son was in the bloom of early manhood, of great

1. JNSI. xii. p. 72
2. Ibid X pp. 115-116.
3. JNSI. X, pp. 115-16

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

valour and beloved by his subjects duly anointed him heir to his realm and being himself old retired with his wife and ministers to Vārāṇasī, and made God Śiva his refuge".[1] Vikramāditya subdued the Vetālas, Rākshasas and other demons. This story thus contains a historical tradition. Mahendrāditya should be safely assumed to be Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya. Since Chandragupta II, Ujjayinī was a secondary capital of the Guptas, and Mahendrāditya could be remembered as living in the city of Ujjayinī. The Mlechchhas who were to be uprooted by Vikramāditya and who had become a serious menace may be identified with the Hūṇas, who invaded Gupta dominion in the time of Kumāragupta. The Hūṇas are referred to as the Mlechchhas in the Junāgarh inscription of Skandagupta. Because of their terrible destructive power and barbarian nature the future generations could very well take them to be Rākshasas, Demons or the Vetālas. The most heroic and enduring achievement of Skandagupta was his success over the Hūṇas—a fact which could in those days and in future could only be associated with divine being, and not with mere ordinary mortals. Therefore it is easy to understand how future generations could take him to be a gaṇa of Śiva specially sent to the earth for the purpose of protecting the earth from the torments of the Mlechchhas. Vikramāditya together with Kramāditya was a title of Skandagupta. He was the favourite son of Kumarāgupta who may have nominated him to succeed him. The reference to Mahendrāditya's abdication in favour of his son Vikramāditya and taking to religious order appears to be an event of so great a significance as to later on became a part of tradition.

This reference to Kumāragupta's abdication may also be gathered from an altogether different source. A Buddhist work Chandragrabha Pariprichchhā refers to the king Mahendrasena and his brave son (Duhprasahahasta). The kingdom was invaded by Yavanas, Palhikas and Śakunas, who had taken possession of Gandhāra and countries to the north of the Ganges. But the enemy was severely defeated by the prince in a terribly contested battle. On his return the father crowned him king —saying 'henceforth rule the kingdom and retired to religious life.' Jayswal with good reasons sees in this story Skanda's war with the Hūaṇs.[2] The story also refers to Mahendrasena's abdication of the throne and retirement to religious life. Mahendrasena is Kumāragupta Mahendraditya's titular deity appears to be Kumāra or Skanda or Mahendrasena. In another story in the Kathāsaritasāgara[3] there is a reference to king Mahāsena retiring to forest and leaving the kingdom for his son 'Sundrasena. Here

1. Kathasaritasagara (Tawney) Penzer, IX pp. 1-6.
2. Imperial History of India. pp. 36-37
3. KSS. VI. p. 160.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

also an allusion to the tradition of Kumāragupta's retirement to religious life may be read (Mahāsena = Kumāra).

Retirement of kings to forest during the later years of their lives was not only religiously enjoined but largely practised in ancient India. There are numerous examples of such abdication and retirement in the epics. Daśaratha proposed this, Dhritarāshṭra and Yudhishṭhira acted up to this. Even in the Gupta dynasty there are references to such events. According to Yuan Chwang[1] Bālāditya abdicated the throne and joined the Buddhist order in the University of Nālandā.

In this connection it may be also noted that Kumāragupta I showed deep interest in Buddhism. Mankunwar stone inscription records the erection of Buddha's image in his reign by Budhamitra.[2] Scholars have generally identified Śakrāditya, the builder of the first monastery at Nālandā, according to Hiuen Tsiang, with Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya. The date of Vasubandhu is a matter of much controversy, some place him in the 4th and some in the 5th and 6th century A. D. He lived up to the age of eighty and Takakusu has placed him in 420-500 A. D.[3] He was the tutor of Bālāditya who has been identified with Narasimhagupta, son of Purugupta Vikramāditya. So Vasubandhu may have been a younger contemporary of Kumāragupta I, and Buddhamitra of Mankunwar image inscription may be identified with the teacher of Vasubandhu of the same name. This date for Vasubandhu is strengthened by a piece of evidence pointed out by Sankalia.[4] Sthiramati is a disciple of Vasubandhu. Hiuen Tsiang refers to Sthiramati and Guṇamati who may have lived a hundred years earlier. In an inscription of Dharasena I found at Valabhi there is a reference to the building of a Vihāra by Ācārya Sthiramati. This inscription is dated Samvat 269 which should be referred to Valabhi Samvat (319-20 A. D.) or Gupta era and so equal to 588 A. D. This ācārya

1. The life p. 111; Walters II. p. 164.

2. C. I. I. III No. 11.

3. JRAS. 1905 pp. 33 ff. Kimura (JDL. I. pp. 31 ff.) places Vasubandhu in 390-470 A.D. on the basis of the doubtful interpretation of the verse discussed by H. P. Sastri (JASB 1905). In his opinion Kumaragupta I was Baladitya, but there is no evidence to support this. There is a tradition noted by Kimura in China and Japan according to which Asanga flourished 900 years after the death of Buddha. Date of Buddha's death is controversial, but contonese traditions in China would place it in 489 B. C., and so Asanga should be placed in the first half of the 5th century A. D., and his younger brother Vasubandhu should be placed about this time, and as he lived in up to the age of 80, Takakasu's view appear to be in conformity with this tradition. Vasubandhu lived in the 10th century after Buddha's death according to Parmartha (JRAS 1905- p. 35). Sylvain Levi places Vasubandhu in 500-550 A. D.

4. The University of Nalanda, pp. 105-6

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Sthiramati may be identified with Sthiramati, a famous Pandit of Nālandā. According to Hiuen Tsiang Sthiramati was associated with a monastery at Valabhi.[1] In view of this Takakusu's date of 420-500 for Vasubandhu may be accepted, and he would be a contemporary of Kumāragupta, Skandagupta, Purugupta and Narasimhagupta Bālāditya. There may be good reason to believe that Vasubandhu may have also played some part in the foundations of the University of Nālandā by Kumāragupta I (Śakrāditya), who was at first a Śaiva (Paramabhāgavata appears to be a formal title) but in later years may have been drawn towards Buddhism. The story in Kathāsaritasāgara (just quoted) refers to the blessing of Śiva to Mahendrāditya and the latter going with his wife to Vārāṇasī to worship Śiva. The later Hindu writers and traditions thus mentioned Kumāragupta as a Śaiva.

Kumāragupta could have abdicated his throne in favour of his able son Skandagupta in the last quarter of his life without any provocation. But there are reasons to suspect that there may have been domestic crisis which contributed to fixing his mind on retirement to religious life. We have shown elsewhere that Kumāragupta had two wives by whom were born Puru Gupta and Skandagupta, and though the latter was abler and greater favourite of his father, the former had a better claim to the throne. In the Gupta dynastic history often the king nominated his successor and announced his decision before his death, and in nominating his successor he did not always decide in favour of the eldest. Samudragupta and Chandragupta II were selected in such a manner by their respective father. Kumāragupta appears also to have decided on a like procedure and especially when Skandagupta had given proof of his ability and bravery. But there was one serious difficulty. While Purugupta was the son of Mahādevī, Skandagupta was not, and so the decision of Kumāragupta could not be palatable to the Chief Queen (Mahādevī Anantedevī). Kumāragupta realising this kind of constant opposition decided to retire to religious life and the Chief Queen naturally not happy over this decision against his son was in a high temper. The Queen, female figure on the left on this type of coin was the Chief Queen in Vitarka pose exhibiting her high temper with one hand raised toward the face of the King and the other on her waist [an angry pose of women in general.] Dr. Altekar says that the other figure is of the Commander-in-Chief holding a Garuḍa standard and shield, and probably also persuading the king to give up his decision of retirement. In my opinion the other figure is also of 'a women'. Dr. Altekar at one time was not sure that the other figure was of a man. According to him one certainly was a female and the other *probably* a

1. Watters 4, p. 246.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

male.[1] (though later he is certain that the figure is a male)[2] But the learned scholar is not unaware of the features of the figure which suggest a woman figure, and so tries to remove this inference by saying that the Shield that the male figure is holding gives an impression of the breast of a woman figure.[3] But Garuḍa standard may be a symbol of regal authority but a shield is certainly not conceived of such an essential form of regelia. At best a shield in association with some weapon is conceivable, but that in association with the royal standard alone and without a weapon does not appear to be reasonable. Then the kind of 'picked cap' which is said to be worn by the male figure(?) is certainly not Indian and not seen in Kumāragupta's time when Indianisation of the dress and motifs on the coins was practically complete. Therefore we have to take this figure also to be that of a woman with the juḍā (hair-dressings) in the other case giving the appearance of a picked-cap. The Garuḍa-standard is not held in her hand. It is just shown behind the central figure—another evidence to point out the regal character of the figure. Garuḍa standard has been closely associated with the Gupta coins, but has never been represented as having been held by hand by any one including the king or his attendant. The crescent can also be explained in the same way. It appears on many coins of the Guptas with no particular king or the type of coin. So the other figure is also of a woman in a Vitaıka mood. The slanding and forward pose of the upper part of the body, and closely tightening the *āñchar* of the *sāri* in the waist with one hand near the hip which does give a wrong impression of a shield. The other hand is raised towards the king.

In my opinion we have here both the queens of Kumāragupta in high temper arguing with the king in their hostile self interests for their respective sons, and each might have been trying to persuade the king not to retire, but to strengthen the claims of their sons. But Kumāragupta was determined to follow his decision and hence 'Apratīgha'. Smith also believed that here is represented the king with his two queens. Hoernle who referred to this type of coin presented by Carmec also held that both the figures on the sides of the central figure are women. Cunningham had the same view. Thus we conclude that the Apratigha type of coins shed a very significant light on the history of the Gupta dynasty during the concluding years of Kumāragupta's reign.

1. JNSI, IX, p. 72
2. Ibid X, p. 115, Gupta Kalin Mudraen, p. 145.
3. Ibid, Catalogue of the Bayana Hoard, *cx-cxi.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CAMPAIGNS OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA SĀTAKARṆI IN WESTERN DAKKAN

Dr. M. Rama Rao

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the great Sātavāhana emperor, is known to have made many conquests and added many dominions to his kingdom which was much shrunk at the time of his accession. A Nāsik inscription of the 19th year of the reign of his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi,[1] gives a detailed account of this monarch's conquests and other achievements. He is described as the 'uprooter of the Ksaharāṭa family.'[2] The Jogelthombi hoard of the silver coins of the Ksaharāṭa king Nahapāna, have been restuck by Gautamīputra. Many inscriptions from Karla and Nasik indicate the extent of Nahapāna's kingdom. The Nasik inscription of Pulumāvi's time, mentioned above, enumerates many of the countries formerly included in Nahapāna's dominions as having been conquered by Gautamīputra.[3] All writers admit that Gautmīputra re-conquèred from the Ksaharātas dominions which were originally included in the Sātavāhana empire. Pulumavi's inscription describes his father as 'tri-samudra-pīta-satvah'. One writer has recently suggested that this title should be taken to indicate Gautamīputra's conventional claim to suzereignty over the trans-Vindhyam region. A careful examination of the Nasik inscription of Pulumāvi shows that Gautamīputra conquered not only the dominions that were under Nahapāna but also many others which were outside his sway. A number of coins recently discovered in western Dakkan throw much new light on the conquests of this Sātavāhana monarch and show beyond doubt that his claim to suzereignty over the Dakkan was not merely conventional but very substantial.

The Nasik inscription of Pulamāvi enumerates a number of regions of which Gautamīputra was the king and a number of mountains of which he was the Lord. Among these mountains were included the Sahya and Malaya, generally identified with the northern and southern parts respectively of the Western Ghats. The Sahya or Sahyādris run through Maharashtra while the Malaya runs through Bombay-Karnatak and the Mysore and Travancore States. This indicates that Gautamīputra was the lord of the territories situated on either side of the Western Ghats. Ksaharāta inscriptions at Nasik and Karla show that Nahapana's domi-

1. Ep. Ind. VIII. Nasik ins. no. 2.
2. Ksaharata-vamsa-niravasesakarasya
3. Asika-Asaka-Mulaka-Suratha-Kukura-paramta-Aupa-Vidabha-Akaravati-rajasa.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

nions included among others the Surat, Nasik, Thana and Poona districts.[1] Pulumāvi's Nasik inscription indicates that all these districts were conquered by Gautamīputra. Another record at Nasik dated in the 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra himself,[2] which contains an order relating to a gift at Govardhana in northern Maharashtra, corroborates this fact.

There is no evidence to show that Ksaharāta rule extended south of the Poona district; but there is plenty of evidence to show that the authority of Gautamīputra prevailed south of the Poona district. The obvious inference is that this southern region in the Dakkan was conquered by that monarch and that he lead many other campaigns besides those directed towards the conquest of the Ksaharāta dominions.

Excavations conducted at Brahmapuri near Kolhapur have yielded numerous antiquities including over 2000 lead coins.[3] Most of these coins belong to three kings—Vāsiṣṭhīputra Vilivāyakura, Mātharīputra Sivalakura and Gautamīputra Vilivāyakura. These kings are already known from coins published by Rapson[4] and other scholars. But the most remarkable feature of the Brahmapuri coins is that they contain eight lead pieces belonging to Gautamīputra and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi.[5] The rulers mentioned above had the title 'Raño' and cannot therefore, be taken to have been mere subordinate governors. On the basis of the expression 'kura' occurring on their coins they may be tentatively named the 'kura' kings. Ptolemy refers to a Baleokoros of Hippakura, usually identified with Vilivāyakura of Kolhapur,[6] as the contemporary of Polomois of Ozone, generally identified with Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra. The characters of the legends on these coins resemble those on the coins of the later Sātavāhanas. The only Pulumāvi that could have ruled over Ujjain is Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi. Since the coins of Pulumāvi have also been found at Brahmagiri the evidence of Ptolemy and of the coins can be reconciled through the supposition that Vilivāyakura was originally a feudatory of Pulumāvi and that he declared his independence after the death of Pulumāvi taking advantage of the troubles that then beset the Sātavāhana kingdom on account of the invasions of the Śaka king Rudradāman.[7] The presence of the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in the Brahmapuri collection is of great significance. If Vilivāyakura was the feudatory of Pulumāvi it follows that either he or

1. Cf. Rapson-CAC. Intro. pp. cx.-cxi.
2. Ep-Ind. VIII. Nasik ins. no. 4.
3. I examined this collection in October, 1953 and a detailed report is awaiting pubication.
4. Cf. CAC. Intro. and pl. I,II,III.
5. These are of the usual elephant and Ujjain symbol type.
6. Bhandarkar—Early History of the Dakkan.
7. The Junagad inscription of Rudradaman.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

his immediate predecessor of the 'Kura' family was a contemporary of Gautamīputra. The matronymics of Vāsiṣṭhīptra, Mātharīputra and Gautamīputra, which were also borne by the later Sātavāhanas; the occurrence of the caitya with and without the crescent and with or without the svastikā, nandipāda, the triangle-headed standard, the Ujjain symbol and the conch on most of the Kura coins; the find of a hitherto unknown variety of Kura coins having the bow and arrow on the obverse and the caitya of three and six arches on the reverse, resembling those on the Sātavānhana coins—all these are unmistakable indications of the Sātavāhana subordination and affinity of the Kura kings. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the members of the Kura family were originally independent chieftains in the Kolhapur region and that they were conquered and subjugated by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that Kolhapur is situated adjacent to the Sahyadris and Gautamīputra is described as the lord of the Sahya mountains. We come to know of Gautamaīputra's campaign against the Kura chiefs for the first time from the Brahmapuri coins.

Several excavations conducted at Chandravalli near Chittaldoorg in the Mysore State have brought to light more than one Sātavāhana city lying buried underground.[1] Many antiquities like pottery, beads etc. show that the place was of considerable importance throughout the Sātavāhana period. The most remarkable and important of these finds are hundreds of lead and potin coins belonging to various rulers and governing families that held sway over the Chittaldoorg region.[2] Among these are included lead and potin pieces of Pulumāvi and Yajña Śrī of the imperial Sātavāhana family. The first layer of Dr. Krishna's excavations and the fifth and sixth strata of Dr. Wheeler's excavations contained coins of Yajña Śrī [3] while an unstratified pit brought to light a coin of Pulumāvi. These coins indicate that the Chittaldoorg region was uder the rule of these two Sātavāhana monarchs. Pulumāvi is not known to have made any fresh conquests. The southern part of the Western Ghats, known as the Malaya ranges, run through the North Kanara and Mysore states. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is described as the Lord of Malaya. Further, a Nasik inscription of the 18th year of his reign contains an order issued by him from the army camp at Vaijayanti.[4] Vaijayanti is identified

1. For detailed accounts of these excavations see the supplement to the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1929 and Ancient India No. 4. pp. 180-310.

2. 45 of the coins obtained by Wheeler are published in Ancient India; about forty more are in the local antiquities Museum, at Chittaldoorg and the bulk of the coins obtained by Dr. Krishna are locked up in the cabinets of the Mysore Archaeological Department.

3. Ancient India p.

4. Ep. Ind. VIII. Nasik ins. no. 4.—senaye Vejayamtiya Vijayakhadavara Gotmiputo Siri-Satakani anapayati.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

with Banavāsi in the N. Kanara district. These facts point unmistakably to the fact that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi conquered the N. Kanara and Chittaldoorg districts. This must have constituted another campaign.

It is possible to determine from whom Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi might have conquered the Chittaldoorg region. The stratification made by Drs. Krishna and Wheeler help us in this connection. Dr. Wheeler obtained 12 coins of Sadakaṇa Kalalāya Mahāraṭhi, two of Sadakaṇa Chaṭakaṇha Mahāraṭhi, one of Sadakaṇa Kaṇha Mahāraṭhiputa and one of an anonymous Mahāraṭhi.[1] The common title Mahāraṭhi and the common coin types indicate that all these four chieftains belonged to the same family. While the common prefix Sadakaṇa indicates that they were Sātavāhana subordinates. Rapson dscussed[2] the probable identitiy of the Kalalāyā above with the Kalalāya Mahāraṭhi who figures in the Nanaghat caves as the father of Nāgānaīka and, considered him a contemporary of Sātakarṇi I and assigned him to about 180 B. C. The characters of the legends on the Mahāraṭhi coins bear a close resemblance to those attributed to Sātakarṇi I[3] and seem far earlier than those found on the coins of the later Sātavāhanas. Further, the prefix Sadakṇa occurring on the Mahāraṭhi coins is similar to Sadavahana occurring on the coins of the Sātavahana[4] king of that name and Sādavanakula occurring in the Nasik inscription of Krishṇa.[5] Coins and inscriptions of the later Sātavāhanas contain the expressions Sātavāhana[6] and Sātavāhanakula.[7] The contemporaniety of Kalalāya Mahāraṭhi and Sātakarṇi I need not thereforė be doubted. The four generations of Māharaṭhis may, therefore, be assigned to the period 180-80 B. C. Five large size lead coins belonging to two kings, Chaṭukulānanda and Mudānanda, have been obtained from Karwar in the N. Kanara distrct.[8] Rapson has suggested that both these rulers belonged to the Ānanda family and that Chuṭukulānda flourished earlier than Mudānanada and ascribed them to the period of Kalalāya Mahāraṭhi. Coins of both these kings were found at Chandravalli.[9] The characters of the coins of these kings and the reverse type of their coins resemble those of the Mahāraṭhis on the one hand and of the Kura kings on the other. Stratum no. 6 of Wheeler's excavation contained the coins of the anonymous Mahāraṭhi and Chuṭukulānndna[10]

1. Anc. Ind. p.
2. CAC Intro. pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii.
3. Ibid pl. I.
4. JNSI Vol. VII. pl. no. ; Hyd. Mus. Bul. no.
5. Ep.-Ind. VIII. Nasik ins. no. 22.
6. Cf. names of kings in Nasik ins. nos. 5 and 24.
7. Cf. Satavahana-vasa-yasa-patithapakasa and Rano Satavahanananam
8. Rapson-CAC pp. 59-60.
9. Anc. Ind. p. ; I have seen several of these in the Chittaldoorg Museum.
10. Anc. Ind. p. .

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The lower strats have yielded only Mahāraṭhi coins. Chuṭukulānanda and Mudānanda must, therefore, be assigned to the interval between the Mahāraṭhis and the later Sātavānhanas. Since another Chuṭukulānanda Hārītīputra was a *Vaijayantīpati*,[1] it follows that the Ānanda dynasty continued to flourish for a long time and that Vaijyanti was its headquarters. The Ānandas must have conquered the Chittaldoorg region either from the Mahāraṭhis or soon after the end of their administration. This would be easily possible during the period of the rule of the Kshahatātas when the fortune of the Sātavāhana family were at a low ebb. It may, therefore, be considered that the Ānanda family was in possession of N. Kanara and Chittaldoorg after the disappearance of the Mahāraṭhis. There is no evidence to show that any other family or chieftain held sway over this region till the time of Pulumāvi. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is known to have been camping at Vaijayanti, the headquarters of the Ānandas, with his army in the eighteenth year of his reign. It is reasonable to suppose under these circumstances that Gautamīputra invaded Vanavāsi, conquered the Ānandas and subjugated them. This would give him access to the Arabian sea and justify his title 'tri-samudra-pīta-satvah'.

Thus, numerous coins recently obtained from Brahmapuri and Chittaldoorg throw fresh light on the conquests of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and bring to light his campaigns against the 'Kura' chiefs of Kolhapur and the Ānanda family of Vaijayanti.

NEW LIGHT ON THE GANGA ERA

Dr. R. C. Majumdar

The view, originally propounded by Subba Rao, that the Ganga Era was started towards the end of the fifth century A. D. is now generally accepted, the initial date being fixed by V. V. Mirashi as A. D. 498, four years later than the date proposed by Rao. The theory of Rao was based on his interpretation of the date of the Mandasa Grant. It is worded as *Śakābda-nava-śataka-sapta-rasa-mata*. Rao took it as 'clearly 913' by adding *sapta* (seven) and *rasa* (six). Mirashi and D. C. Sircar regarded *sapta-rasa* as equivalent to *sattarasa* and interpreted the date as 917. In an article in *Indian Culture* (IV. 176) I pointed out that the natural interpretation of *saptarasa* would be 76 or 67, by placing the two figures side by side.

Dharmakheḍi, who issued the Mandasa Grant during the reign of Ananta-varman, also issued another Grant in the year 520 of the Ganga

1. The Malaveli inscription in Ep. Carn. VII. p. 251.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Era during thr reign of Devendra-verman, son of Ananta-varman. It, therefore, follows that if the date of the Mandasa Grant be taken as Śaka 913 or 917 the epoch of the Ganga Era falls towards the end of the fifth century A. D., whereas, if the date is interpreted as 967 or 976, the epoch of the Ganga Era falls about the middle of the sixth century A. D., as suggested by me.

This controversy seems to be settled by a newly discovered Grant, which I am editing for the Epigraphia Indica. It was issued by the Kadamba feudatory Bhīmakheḍi, son of Dharmakheḍi, during the reign of his suzerain Ganga king Devendra-varman. It is clearly dated in Śaka 988. As Devendra-varman reigned in 988 Śaka, the date of the Mandasa Grant, issued during the reign of his father, is more likely to be 976 or 967 than 913 or 917. In any case, as the Ganga Era 520 and Śaka 988 (A. D. 1066) both fall during the reign of Devendra-verman, I think the Ganga Era must have been started about the middle of the sixth century A. D., as was originally suggested by me, and not in 498 A. D. as is now generally accepted by scholars.

THE INDUS CIVILISATION IN THE RIGVEDA

P. R. Deshmukh Yeotmal

Last year the President of the History Congress M. M. P. V. Kane expressed opinion "that the inhabitants of the ancient Indus valley fortified cities were probably Aryans, holding different views as to the ritual and worship from those of the Rigvedic people". Similar opinion was expressed by Dr. A. D. Pusalkar as President of the First Section of the 13th Session of the History Congress at Nagpur in 1950. He remarked "From the careful study of the Vedic and the Indus Valley Civilisation, I have come to the conclusion that the latter represents a later phase of the Rigvedic civilisation in India".

In short space of this paper I propose to lay briefly the internal evidence of the Rigveda in comparison with the evidence of the Indus Valley excavation to prove that the ancient Indus Valley Civilisation was prior even to the early Rigvedic Civilisation and the pioneer Aryan invaders destroyed it.

The Conflict

The pioneer Aryans came in conflict with the people whom they contemptuously termed as Dāsa, Dasyu, Avrat and Adevihi. They were rich and prosperous people, possessing innumerable wealth in gold, precious stones, live stocks and corn stores. They were living in big fortified cities.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

They were following the profession of agriculture, trade and usury. They were also great builders. The Aryans carried on expeditions to capture their wealth, cows and food stuff, to burn their towns and massacre them in a large number.

Two important kinds of warfares are referred to in the Rigveda दस्यु हत्ये warfare for massacre of Dasyus and पुराभिधे warfare for destruction of Purs. Other kinds of warfares mentioned are अर्कसाता or वाजसाता warfare for food, गोसाता or गोषु युधं warfare for cows, धनसाता warfare for wealth and क्षेत्रस्यसाता warfare for fields. These terms leave no doubt that the enemies of the Vedic Aryans were living in large towns and were possessed of wealth, corn and live stock and the Aryans were carrying on expeditions to capture them and to massacre their enemies.

These expeditions are described in highly glorifying terms in the Rigveda. All these exploits of the pioneer Aryanas are attributed to gods mainly to Indra.

Identity of the enemies of the Aryans with the Indus Valley people.

Feature and complexion:—From the Rigveda we know that the enemies of the Vedic Aryans had dark complexion (1-101-1; 2-20-7; 4-16-13; 6-47-21) and flat noses (5-29-10). We know nothing about the features and complexion of the Indus valley people from the excavation. From the anthropological and ethnical evidence of the few skulls which have been discovered in the Indus valley excavation we know that the majority of the skulls belongs to the Mediterranean type which is officially described as "being of short statures, complexion very dark approaching black, hair—plentiful with an occasional tendency to curl, eyes dark, head long, nose very broad, some times depressed at the root but not so as to make the face appear flat". (The Indus Valley civilisation Vol. I page 109). This description in substance is identical with the description of the enemies of the Vedic Aryans who had dark complexion and flat nose.

Similarity in character:—The Aryan expeditions were all offensive expeditions. The Aryan maintained horses and men and with their help carried on expeditions against the Dāsas (1-8-2; 1-64-13).

The enemies of the Vedic Aryans were peace loving, unwarlike and some what timid men. They were much averse to fighting. They did not stand in opposition to the Aryan army. They would run away at the sight of the Aryan army as an impotent bull would run away at the sight of the powerful fighting bull (1-33-6). Unwilling to fight they were driven by the Aryan army far far away (1-33-7). Such was the timid and unwarlike nature of the peace-loving enemies of the Vedic Aryans.

The Indus valley excavation affords abundant proof of the timid and unwarlike nature of the inhabitants of the ancient Indus valley who without making any effective defence, abandoned their fortified towns in the hands of the pilleging and plundering enemies who burnt them. Had

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

they bravely resisted and fought and not withdrawn in panic and escaped we would have come across a large number of dead bodies. But only a few dead bodies of the persons died in state of accident have found. This fact clearly evidences the timid and unwarlike nature of the peace-loving and prosperous traders in the Indus valley.

Economic status :—The enemies of the Vedic Aryans are described as possessed of riches (1-33-4; 4-2-15). Indra is praised for giving innumerable riches to pioneer Aryan invadors, after destruction of the Purs of Dāsas (1-63-7; 4-32-19; 5-29-10; 6-16-5; 10-99-11). They used to put on ornaments of gold and precious stones on their persons, हरण्येनमणिनाशुभ्ममाना (1-33-8).

The Indus valley inhabitants also were rich people who possessed gold and precious stones. They also put on ornaments of gold and precious stones on their persons.

Besides this wealth, the enemies of the Vedic Aryans had large corn stores and the Aryans carried on expeditions to plunder these stocks (2-31-2; 4-26-7; 6-13-3; 10-99-5)

In the Indus valley excavation "the great granary of Harappa" has been excavated.

The economic status of the enemies of the Vedic Aryans was exactly identical with the economic status of the Indus valley people.

Vocations :—(1) Agriculture—The enemies of the Vedic Aryans had fertile fields उर्वर and क्षेत्र on the banks of the rivers. They were ousted from their fertile fields by the Aryans (4-38-1). They were following the profession of agriculture. Their lands were fertile and their yields were plentiful as they could accumulate such large stocks of food as would attract the invader. (2) Trade—The enemies of the Vedic Aryans are called Paṇis meaning traders. The meaning of the word Paṇi as given by Yāska in Nirukta is पणिर्वणिग्मवति meaning a trader. The Paṇis were traders and had abundant wealth (4-25-7). The nature and extent of their trade is not given in the Rigveda. They were trading by land and also probably by water (1-56-2). Probably they were trading with distant countries outside India. (3) Usury:—The Paṇis were also following the profession of usury (8-66-10). The word for the Paṇi usurer is बेकनाटान्. It means a usurer who used to say to his debtor while lending money by making demonstration by acting "well, I lend you one, but you will have to return me two". (4) Builders :—The Paṇis who are called the progeny of Tvaṣṭā were great builders. They built great fortified cities which were called Purs.

Sir John Marshall describes the Indus valley people as 'Their society is organised in the cities, their wealth derived mainly from agriculture and trade, which appears to have extended far and wide in all directions".

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Indus valley people were also great builders as they built the great fortified cities.

The vocations persued by the enemies of the Vedic Aryans and the valley people are completely identical.

SIMILARITY OF RELIGION AND GOD

1..Phallic worship.—The enemies of the Vedic Aryans were phallic worshipers and are described in the Rigveda as. शिश्नदेवा: (7-21-5; 10-99-3).

In the Indus valley excavation a number of stones with the shape of Phallus and Yoni are discovered. They are supposed to be objects of worship. All the figurins of gods on the terracotta seals excavated in the Indus valley are represented with phallus exposed. This also shows that the Indus people were phallic worshipers.

2. The three-headed god.—Out of the 558 seals discovered in the Indus valley excavation the seal of the three headed god with head-dress of horn surrounded by wild beasts, with rings on arms and with exposed phallus, is very important. Sir John Marshall is of the opinion that the three headed god is Śiva Paśu Pati. Sir John Marshall's opinion is based on picture reading and cannot be accepted as correct.

In the Rigveda we find reference to the three headed god of the enemies of the Aryans in 10-99-5.

स इद्दासं तुवीरवं पलिर्दन् षेवक्षं त्रिशीर्षणिं दमन्यत्।
अस्य त्रितो न्वोजसा वृधानो विपा वराहमयो अग्रया हन् ॥ (१०-७७-६)

Translation.—"The same lord Indra struck Dāsa with six eyes and three heads which made a terrible sound. Trita expanded by the prowess of Indra struck the wild bore (the three headed god) with fingers having the tips of iron". (10-99-6)

The three-headed god is described as Dāsa in the above Rik which leaves no doubt about his non-Aryan character. He is destroyed by Trita with iron bar. Trita probably broke the icon of the three headed god. Or else it is the reference to the mythological legend that Trita son of Āpta killed the three headed Viśvarup son of Tvasṭā. The Rik 2-11-19 also connects Viśvarup the three headed god with the Dasyus. There are three more Riks 10-8-7; 19-3-8 and 10-8-9 which describe the exploits of Trita with three-headed Viśvarup.

Paṇis are called बृसयस्य शेष: (1-93-4) or बृसयस्य प्रजा (1-61-3)| the progeny of Brisaya. Sāyanāchārya interprets the word Brisaya as बृसयइतित्वष्टुनमिध्येयं. Brisaya is another name for Tvasṭā. Tvasṭā is the original god of Paṇis. He is god of creation. In course of time he was adopted and assimilated as god by the Aryans. In the Rigveda we find a number of Riks in praise of Tvasṭā. His original character as creator has been retained. We have already seen that the Paṇis

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

were phallic worshippers. In the terracotta sealst he gods are represented with phallus exposed. Phallic—character of Tvaṣṭā the god of Paṇis has been retained even in the Rigveda and he is described as सुजनिभा 10-2-7; 10-18-6) meaning having a good generative organ. Viśvarupa being son of Tvaṣṭā and originally god of Paṇis may have been represented in the seal with phallus exposed. About his head-dress of horns we shall deal separately.

The three-headed god Viśvarup is porbably lord of the seasons each mouth representing one season and creator of pairs of wild animals (1-13-10; 3-56-3). The above account gives us the name and character of the three headed god found on the terracotta seal. It is a crucial point which proves the identity between the enemies of the Aryans and the inhabitants of the ancient Indus valley.

Head-dress of horns :—Head-dress of horns is a common feature of the gods of the enemies of the Vedic Aryans and the inhabitants of the Indus valley. All the figurins of deities on the terracotta seals have horns on their heads.

In the Rigveda Susṇa who belonged to the race of Paṇis is described as शृङ्गिणम् (1-33-12) meaning having horns. One of the non-Aryan tribes that took part in the battle of the ten kings is called विषाणिनः (7-18-7) meaning having horns.

Important Rik in this connection is 7-99-4.

उरुं यज्ञाय चमाशुरु लोकं जनयन्ता सूर्यभुषासभग्निम् ।
दामस्य चिद्वृषाशिप्रस्य माया जघ्नशुनरी पृतनाज्येषु ॥ ७–९९–४

Translation.—"Oh ye creater of Surya, Usas and Agni; you have made open vast expance of the world for Vijña. You in the battle field defeated the guile of Dāsa with the head-dress of horns (7-99-4)."

वृषाशिप्रसादासस्य means a Dāsa who has head-dress of horns. Dāsa does not refei to any man but to the god of Dāsas. The word वृषशिप्र is translated by M.M.P. V. Kane as "having nose or chin like a bull" "(Presidential address in H. C. session at Waltair 1953 page 21). The translation is not correct. It is also meaningless. How can a man, even though a Dāsa have a chin or nose like a bull? The word शिप्र means headdress. In 7-25-3 the meaning of the word शिप्रिन् which is used in reference to Indra is given by Sāyanāchārya as उष्णीपिन् having headdress (helmet). In 8-1-27 the word शिप्रि is explained in Sāyanāchārya's commentary as शिप्रं शिरस्त्राणम् । प्रसंयायामिनि : शोभन शिरस्त्राण : यब्दा । शिप्रेहनू नासिकेवा । तद्वान् । The word शिप्रि has two meanings means headdress and also chin and nose. The latter meaning is not obviously applicable here. In 5-54-18 the meaning of शिप्रि is more explicit शीर्षसु हिरण्ययी: शिप्रा: having headdress of gold on heads. The word शिप्र is used in the sense of headdress in 7-25-3; 8-2-28 and 8-17-4.It will be clear that the word वृषाशिप्र means having headdress like a bull, meaning in plain language having

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

headdress of horns. The gods of the enemies of the Aryans as well as of the inhabitants of the Indus valley are represented with horns. This proves the complete identity of two.

Identity of the Purs of the Dāsas with the Indus valley cities.

The word Pur is mentioned 47 times in all the maṇḍals of the Rigveda in the sense of towns of the Dāsas. There is nothing in the Rigveda to warrant the supposition that the word Pur in the Rigveda does not refer to towns but to waterless clouds in the sky as the naturalistic interpreters of the Rigveda suppose. On the contrary it has been specifically mentioned in the Rigveda that the Purs destroyed by the Aryans were Purs of the Dāsas. Purs of particular Dāsa also have been mentioned. The connotations used for the Purs in 3-12-6 is दासपत्नीः meaning protected by Dāsas. The connotation दासीःपुरः meaning Purs of Dāsas has been used in 1-103-3; 6-20-10 and 6-31-4. Obviously the Purs destroyed by the Aryans were the Purs of the Dāsas.

Nature of the Purs.—Dr. A. D. Pusalkar remarked "From the fact Agni is asked to burn them and they are said to be of wood we can say that timber was used in their construction, suggesting the interpretation of Paschal and Geldner, rejected by the authors of the Vedic index that the Purs were towns with wooden walls and ditches, was correct. The inference is that large commercial cities had not yet sprung into existance in the time of Rigveda." (Page 23 address of Dr. A. D. Pusalkar president of the 1st section Indian H. C. 13th sessions Nagpur 1950). According to Dr. Pusalkar the Purs in the Rigveda were nothing more than small hamlets of the primitive non Aryans. It must be said at the outset that there is nothing in the Rigveda to support this view. The word Pur itself means a town and the composers of the hymns well knew the distinction between पुर and ग्राम. Besides, we have already seen that the enemies of the Vedic Aryans were rich and prosperous traders trading far and wide having rich lands, plentiful corn, abundant riches in gold, precious stones, corn stores and large cow sheds. These people were famous builders. They had reached the commercial stage of economy though their Aryan opponents were wadling from nomadic to agricultural stage of economy. Such advanced people were not expected to live in hamlets and it was in fact so.

The Purs described in the Rigveda were not made of mud or wood but were built of stone (अश्मन्मयीनां) will be clear from 4-30-20. They are also described as दृजहाः (1-33-12; 6-20-7; 6-32-3) or दृंहिताः (1-51-11; 7-99-5; 7-18-13) meaning strong or fortified. In 1-53-6 Rijisvan is said to have destroyed 100 towns of Vangrd by laying seige to them परिषूता. Sāyanāchārya in the commentary has explained the word परिषूता as अवष्टब्धा The Pur which is fortified is alone capable of being beseiged. The reasonable inference is that the towns were fortified. The towns of the Paṇis had doors (6-18-5). If the towns had fortification of stone

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

walls it is very natural that they must have doors (10-99-3). The towns of the Paṇis are described as आयसी: (2-20-8; 4-26-3) made of iron. This may reasonably mean that the fortification of towns were as strong as iron and nothing more than that. The use of the words दृजहाः, दृंहिताः, आयसीः, in connection with the towns of the Dāsas completely contradicts the idea that the Purs in the Rigveda were only hamlets with wooden barricade.

The towns of the Dāsas (1-31-4; 174-2; 6-20-10). are wrongly translated as—"Autumnal forts". शरत् in this connection does not mean autumn but a complete year and Pur does not mean a fort but a town. The words शारदी: पुर: mean the towns which would not yield to a siege for one complete year i.e. the towns were impregnable and would hold a siege for a considerably long time. Sāyanāchārya in the commentary explains the term शारदीपुर: as शारदी: संवत्सरा संबन्धनी : संवत्सर पर्यन्तं प्राकार-परिवादिभिर्दृढ़ीकृताः। पुर: शतृणां पुरीः। Sāyanāchārya's explanation is the correct and accurate explaination which gives us a fair idea about the towns of Paṇis. Such kind of towns appear to be a comparatively later development. The term शारदी: पुर: is not used in connection with hundreds of towns destroyed by pioneer Aryans. It is applied only to the seven towns which Purukutsa captured from the enemies. The same seven towns fell into the hands of Sudāsa when Purukutsa was defeated and illed in the battle of the ten Kings (7-18-13).

From the above discussion it will be clear that the towns of the Paṇis were built of stone. They had strong fortifications and doors. They were impergneable and as strong as iron. This description is completely applicable to the fine strong towns excavated in the Indus Valley.

The Purs were full of all kinds of wealth (1-130-7; 6-20-7; 6-30-4; 6-32-3). The Aryans came in possession of innumerables wealth of all kinds when they destroyed the Purs.

Use of fire in destruction of towns :—The Rigveda is full of hymns which indicate that the Aryans made use of fire freely in destructing the Purs. It is not possible to refer to them for want of space. In order to give a clear and correct idea of the mode of destruction of the towns by fire I quote Rig 7-5-3. खद्भिया विश आयन्नसिक्नीर समना जहलीभेजिनानि।

वैश्वानर पूरवे शोशुचान्: पुरो यदंग्गे दरयन्नदीदे॥ (७-५-३)

Translation—"Vaisvanar fire, by your fear the black coloured tribes collectively run away, leaving things of enjoyment behind, when the towns conquered and set on fire by the Puru kings were blazing" (7-5-3). The mode of the Aryans appear to invade the towns on horse-back, surround them, destroy the ramparts, burn the towns, massacre the inhabitants and plunder wealth, cows, corn and any other precious thing on which they could lay hand upon (3-15-4).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

This explains why the towns were abandoned in Panic by the Indus valley people. In the Indus Valley excavation no roofs of the houses have been recovered. It is not known how and of what material the roofs of the houses were made. Probably they were made of wood and were consumed by fire and the roofless houses were buried under ground.

The horses, effective weapons, coats of mail and helmets were probably Aryan innovations in India. The peace loving Pre-Aryan traders did not visualise invasion from the outsiders and were totally unprepared to meet it. They had neither weapons of offence nor means of defence. they had neither horses nor chariots, above all they lacked the warlike spirit to fight. It is not therefore unnatural that they could not stand in opposition against the sturdy and warlike opponents who were superior in arms and had horses, chariots and better means of defence. The Aryans burnt their rich and prosperous towns and ruthlessly and indiscriminately put them to sword. The Pre-Aryans had to abandon their towns with abundant riches and means of enjoyment, their fertile fields, granaries, and cattle sheds and had to flee away to distant parts of the country.

All this internal evidence in the Rigveda proves complete identity between the enemies of the Aryans and the ancient Indus valley inhabitants.

A NOTE ON MALLASARUL CHARTER OF VIJAYASENA

B. Ch. Chhabra

The Mallasārul copper-plate inscription of Vijayasēna has been published in the *Epigraphia Indica* by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar[1]. The record is engraved on both sides of a single sheet of copper, with a circular seal soldered on the left side of the plate. It is this seal which is of main interest to us in the present note. Its description as given by Mr. Majumdar reads as follows: "It bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed deity with a *chakra* in the back-ground representing perhaps the 'Wheel of Law'. Below the figure occurs in raised letters the legend (*Mahā*) rajā-*Vijaya* (*pē*) *nasya*, i.e., 'Of the Mahārāja Vijayasēna,' which is partly defaced."[2] Further on, commenting on the opening verse of the inscription, Mr. Majumdar says: "The figure on the seal of the copper-plate may be a representation of Lokanātha, although it is too indistinct to admit of a definite identification."[3] By *Lokanātha*, Mr. Majumdar evidently means the Buddha; for his remarks on the invocatory *Āryās* in the begin-

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff., with one plate.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 157, n. 1.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ning run as follows: "The record opens with an eulogy of the god Lokanātha, of *Dharma*, and of the saints (*santah*), i.e., the Buddhist Sangha,"[4]

It may be pointed out that there is no other evidence in the record of its being Buddhistic. On the contrary, there is ample proof in it to the fact that it is Brahmanistic. The grant of land, for instance, is made 'to a Brahmin named Vaṭsasvāmin of the Kauṇḍinya *gottra*, belonging to the Bahvricha *śākhā* of the Rigvēda,' to enable him to perform the 'five great sacrificial rites'.[5] It need not be pointed out that these details do not assert well with a Buddhist record.

It is easy to understand as to how Mr. Majumdar came to take the invocation as offered to the Buddhist *triratnī* 'Three Jewels': the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. We have seen how he is inclined to explain the chakra device on the seal as standing for the 'Wheel of Law' or the *Dharma-chakra* of the Buddhists. Through the association of this, he naturally took *Lokanātha* in the opening couplet as standing for the Lord Buddha, although ordinarily the appellation *Lokanātha* is applicable to the gods Brahman, Vishṇu and Siva quite as well as to the Lord Buddha. It is in extension of the same chain of association that Mr. Majumdar takes the word *dharma* in the first *Āryā* as referring to the *Dharma* of the Buddhist *triratnī*, and the word *santah* in the second *Āryā* as referring to the *Sangha* of the same 'Three jewels.' It may be pointed out that there is no justification for explaining the word *sant* (or *sat*) in the normal course as synonymous with the Buddhist *arhant* (or *arhat*), through which Mr. Majumdar obviously comes to take the *santah* of the record as *arhantah*, i.e., collectively speaking, the Buddhist 'Sangha.'

Mr. Majumdar has, it looks, totally neglected to observe the inconsistency resulting from view accepted by him: the nature of the record being Brahmanistic, while that of its seal and invocation being Buddhistic.

This inconsistency can easily be obviated if we take the *chakra* on the seal for the *Sudarśana chakra* of the god Vishṇu. In that case, even the *Lokanātha* of the invocation will have to be taken as meaning *Vishṇu*. We have, in fact, the name *Lokanātha* included in the thousand names of Vishṇu:

Lokabandhur Lokanātho
Madhavo Bhaktavatsalah

Vishnusahasranama, 93

As for the words *dharma* and *santah* in the invocation, they may be taken in their normal sense of 'Law' and 'good folk' respectively. In this way, there is nothing inconsistent in the charter.

We may now turn to the 'standing figure of a two-armed deity' against the elaborate wheel on the seal of the charter. Well, we have here an

4. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
5. *Ibid.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

instance of the representation of the personification of Vishṇu's mighty weapon *Sudarsana* discus, called *Chakrapurusha*.

We are now in a position to say that the best specimen of the Chakrapurusha representation occurs in the Chakra-Vikrama type of gold coins of the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II. The credit of its identification goes to Sri C. Sivaramamurti and Dr. V. S. Agrawala.[1] The latter has quoted extensively from the *Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā*, a well-known text of the *Pañcharātra Āgama*, assignable to the Gupta period. This work is essentially the glorification of the Lord Vishṇu in the form of *Chakrapurusha*.

It may further be pointed out that the reading *Lokanātha* in the original is due to .conjectual restoration. *Trilokanāthah* may as well fit in. We may supply the missing words and read *Jayati Trilokanāthah (tho)*, etc., the meaning remaining the same.[2] It will be interesting to investigate as to how far the ideas expressed in the invocatory stanzas of the Mallasārul charter conform to the contents of the *Ahirbudhnya Samhitā*.

A NOTE ON VASUNDHARĀ—THE DAUGHTER OF VIKRAMA

DR. UMAKANTA P. SHAH

The Krtyakalpataru of Laksmīdhara is a nibandha or digest on Hindu Law, divided into several volumes. The author describes himself as the Minister for Peace and War (Mahā-Sāndhi-Vigrahikā) of Mahārājādhiraja Govinda Candradeva. Govindacandra's inscriptions run for nearly half a century from 1104 A. D. to 1154 A. D. Probably written in the Holy Kāśī of old, a part of which is marked by the site of the buried remains unearthed at Rājghāt, the text is one of the earlier known nibandhas on the subject and may be said to contain reliable older traditions.

The Vrata-kāṇḍa, the sixth volume of the Krtya-kalpataru, contains the following verses in the beginning (vrataprasamsā):—[3]

सान्ति यद्यपि भूयांसो लोके धर्मा युगे युगे।
तथापि व्रत धर्मस्य कलां नाईन्ति षोडशीम्॥
व्रतेन मुक्तिमापन्ता हरिणाक्षी वसुन्धरा।
विक्रमस्य सुता साध्वी दशार्णविनिवासिनी॥

1. See *An Explaination of the Chakravikrama Type Coin of Chandragupta* II, by V.S. Agrawala in the JNSI, Vol. XVI, 1954, pp. 97-101.

2. Cf. *Trilokadhit* of the *Vishnu sahasranama*, 95.

3. G. O. S. Vol. cXXIII., p. 2. Vikrama is also cited as a king who benifitted by the observance of Vratas, in a preceding verse.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The above verse shows that the gazelle-eyed daughter of Vikrama, Vasundharā by name, of pious nature (sādhvī), residing in the Daśārṇa region, obtained emancipation by the practice of Vrata.

It is interesting to find that the daughter of Vikrama is especially cited as an example of a person performing the Vrata and obtaining liberation. What was the reason for her performance of Vrata? Why is she called a Sādhvī ? Was she a widow who later took to the practice of rigorous Vratas and became well-known as a pious lady, a saint who obtained liberation through such practices?

We have no means to ascertain these facts though we can easily infer such things. We can, however, rely on Laksmīdhara that the daughter of Vikrama was called Vasundharā and that she lived like a Sādhvī.

We might also suggest that the Vikrama referred to here is no other than Candragupta II whose association with Daśārṇa and Mālvā is well-known and who is generally regarded as the Vikrama of Indian legends.

Prabhāvatiguptā, the mother of Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty became a widow at a very young age and for some time officiated as the Regent for the young king. She calls herself daughter of the Gupta king Candragupta (II) as also known as Devagupta. Since she became a widow at a young age, she might have spent her later life in observance of Vratas, so much so that she became an ideal personage in the practice of Vratas.

We might, therefore, suggest that Vasundhara as referred to by Laksmīdhara is probably the original name of Prabhāvatiguptā, the queen of Vākāṭaka King Rudrasena II, and daughter of Candragupta II—Vikramāditya.

It may be noted that a tradition recorded in Śriśailamahātmya states that a daughter of king Chandragupta daily used to offer a garland of jasmine flowers to god Mallikarjuna of Srisaila, situated in the Karnool district on the Krishna. She is there called Chandrāvātī which may be a later mistake for Prabhāvatī.

THE KUMĀRA-VICEROY OF KALINGA UNDER ASOKA

SHRI. AMAR CHAND

After its conquest and annexation to the Maurya Empire by Aśoka, the country of Kalinga was changed into a Viceroyalty under a Kumara, *i.e.*, a prince of the royal-blood.

1. SIE. 1914-15, p. 91; NHIP., p. 99

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Dr. B. M. Barua opined that previous to the appointment of a Viceroy, the province of Kalinga was under the direct rule of Aśoka himself. But taking into consideration the distinct position of the SKEs (which refer to the Kumāra in-charge of Kalinga) in the entire set of Rock Edicts, engraved in the province of Kalinga, it appears that they were engraved earlier than the regular set of Edicts from which two Edicts were omitted. In view of this fact, the assumption of Dr. Barua does not appear to be all correct.

The term 'Kumāra' must not necessarily denote 'Aśoka's son,' for, Aśoka uses the expression 'me putrā potā cha prapotrā cha' (RE VI), where he has to mention his direct descendants. 'Kumāra' hence may be taken to refer simply to members of the royal-blood, may be his brothers. The 'Kumāra' were not necessarily his sons, who could not be expected to be sufficiently grown up, if he had any, to hold offices in 262 B.C.—the year of his Kalinga-vijaya.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF KA IN KHAROSTHI RECORDS

Dr. C. C. Das Gupta

In this paper an attempt has been made to show the development of the letter *ka* in Kharosthi records found in and outside India. This problem has been discussed under the following periods, *viz.*, period of Asoka, period of Negama coins, Indo-Bactrian period, period of tribal coins, Indo-Scythian period, Indo-Parthian period, period of Kadphises I and Kadphises II, period of the great Kushanas, period of the later Kushanas, period of the Khotan Dharmapada, period of the document no. 661, period of Pepiya, Tajaka and Amgoka and period of Mahiri and Vasmana. Varieties and development of the letter have been traced.

HISTORICAL CHARACTERS IN THE MUDRARAKSASA OF VISAKHADATTA

Dr. Buddha Prakash

In the Mudraraksasa of Visakhadatta, Malayaketu the son of Parvataka, figures as the antagonist of Chandra Gupta Maurya. He is identified with the Indian general Keteus who was killed in the battle of Gabiene between Eumenes and Antigonos. Keteus was in the army of Eumenes and the battle in which he was killed took place in Iran in 316 B. C. The name Keteus corresponds to the Indian word 'Ketu', which stands for Malayaketu. Even in the Mudraraksasa (1,6) 'Ketu' is used for Malayaketu.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Mudraraksasa refers to a relative of Chandra Gupta Maurya named Maharaja Balagupta or Baladevgupta. He is identified with a ruler of the Maurya dynasty named Balabhadda who is connected with the third schism of the Jaina Church caused by the disciple of Asadhacharya in seyavviya (Setavya) in 214 A. V., that is, four years after the accession of Chandra Gupta Maurya which took place in 210 A. V. *According to the Tittho-galipainna* this Balabhadda the Maurya is shown to be a local administrative officer posted at Rajagriha by Chandra Gupta.

It is also suggested that the name Viradhagupta has an echo of the name of Radhagupta who was according to the Divyavadana, a minister of Asoka.

THE INDUS PEOPLE SPEAK

Swami Sankarananda

The decipherment of the Indus seals by a new method propounded by the present writer, has brought out the names of the Vedic tribes like Panaya, Pakta, Yama, Katha and others. The want of a long inscription, that will give out the language in which the people spoke, was keenly felt. Fortunately a long inscription has been discovered, from which the structure of the language could be known.

A short resume of the method, based on Tantrik Lexicons for decipherment of *Vijamontras*, has been given.

The three sentences deciphered from the seal amulet (F.E. Pl. Cl. 7) gives the following legends;

1. Ma eja rihi padam—May I be effulgent (prosperous) by getting rich.
2. Hata sam manas—May (my) mind be peaceful.
3. Ja pa bham sati—May Siva protect my life for a hundred years.

From the construction of the sentences it will be found that, the language used was a type of Prakrita with profuse of monosyllabism, the characteristics of all languages of that age, and without inflection of the verbs, which also indicate the age character.

GATHASAPTASATI AND GATHAKOSA

Shri M. L. Mathur

An attempt has been made in this paper to show that 'Gathasaptasati' traditionally ascribed to Hala Satavahana (Salivahana) should not be identified with the 'Gathakosa' of king Satavahana so very often alluded to in the Sanskrit and Prakrita works. A critical study of scattered references to this celebrated 'Gathakosa' and its compiler reveals that it was

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a huge collection of 'Gathas' on various subjects containing as many as four lacs of 'Gathas'. It seems that by the 10th century A.D. the well-known 'Gathakosa' of Satavahana being lost like the famous Brhatkatha of Gunadhya later writers and on their authority some of the modern scholars confounded the two works and their authors bearing the same name. Otherwise, 'Gathasaptasati' appears to be much later than the 10th century A. D.

A NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF THE HYDASPES

DR. B. K. MAJUMDAR

The battle of the Hydaspes is one of the major military operations of Alexander the Great on Indian soil. The recent study of Alexander by Tarn and the corrections and rearrangements of the confused Greek text of Arrian made by the learned Professor leave scope for a new interpretation of the military history of the Age of Alexander with special reference to his campaign in N. W. India. It is highly probable that the details about the stages of battles fought, the amount of loss involved, the number of fighting forces employed and the strategy adopted, there might be a touch of exaggeration and bias.

VISA-KANYA OR POISON-GIRL—AN INSTRUMENT OF POLITICAL MURDER

DR. H. VEDANTASASTRI

Political murder has been resorted to in every age and every clime and amongst so many instruments of political murder, one was the application of Visa-kanya the mention of which is made in the famous Mudra-raksasa.

Now, the question is what is a Visa-kanya? An attempt has been made to analyse the character of Visa-kanya and arrive at the right conclusion.

IDENTIFICATION OF MALAYA

DR. H. VEDANTASASTRI

In this paper an attempt has been made to identify Malaya, as found in the first as well as in the fifth act of Mudra-Raksasa. In the first, the Malaya-king has been stated to be an ally of Malayaketu, together with

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the rulers of Sind, Kashmir, Persia and Kuluta (Kalat). From this it appears that the capital of the Malaya king was located somewhere in the Punjab, and is probably to be identified with the Malloi referred to by the classical writers.

To the identification of Malaya of Mudra-Raksasa with the Greek Philology also lend a kind hand; and it has been further shown that the simultaneous mention of the Ksudrakas and the Malavas either in the vartika of Katyayana or in the Mahabharata, lacks any special significance.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MATRIARCHAL SYSTEM IN KERALA

DR. K. KANAKASABHAPATHY PILLAY

The view held by McLennan, Bachofen and others that the Matriarchal system was anterior to the Patriarchal system is not fully supported by the data furnished by Kerala.

In the Sangam Age the people of Kerala spoke Kodumtamil and the literary source provides little evidence of the matriarchal system. The Cheras like their compeers, the Pandyas and Cholas followed the Patriarchal system. The intermarriages which took place among the members of these dynasties lends support to this view.

While the primitive folk like the Mutuvans, Mannans an Kanikkar had all along pursued the matriarchal pattern, the Nayars, Ambalavasis and other advanced people appear to have adopted this system only through the instrumentality of the Nambudiris. The Nambudiris came from the North and apparently on account of the fewness of the women of their group who accompained them, adopted the practice of the eldest member alone marrying from their own community. By virtue of the high religious and political position which the Nambudiris acquired in Kerala, exogamy was enjoined on the Nayars and Ambalavasis.

It is likely that from the leading Nayars others imitated this usage. The importance of environmental influence has to be properly assessed. The circumstances which led the Nachinad Vellalas of South Travancore and the Kolli Malayalis of Salem to adopt the matriarchal organisation indicate the changes which occurred in the historical period.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATIONAL AND MARRIAGE RITES ACCORDING TO JAIMINI GRHYASUTRA

SHRI RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHRY

The Jaimini Grhyasutra, though of a totally independent character, has a closer affinity to the sutras of the Samaveda and in it we find a picture of the whole society. An attempt has been made in the present article to deal with some important aspects of educational and marriage rites referred to in text.

REVISED DATING OF THE INDUS CIVILIZATION
(Based on Stratigraphical Evidence)

SHRI K. N. SASTRI

In the present paper the author has tried to show on the strength of the internal stratigraphical and circumstantial evidence that the fortification wall was built by the Harappans in the Late Period and that the Indus Civilization was about a thousand years older than the above wall. I have also discussed in it Dr. Wheeler's view that the Cemetery H people at Harappa were Aryan invaders who appeared on the stage in or about 1500 B. C. and destroyed the Indus Civilization. In the light of the available evidence I have endeavoured to show that the Cemetery H folk could not be the Aryans, nor they were responsible for the destruction of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. These cities were already dead by the beginning of the 2nd mill. B. C.

VARAHAMIHIRA AND HIS SAKA KALA

SHRI KOTA VENKATACHELAM

Varahamihira, the great astronomer, in his Brihat Samhita (13-3) gives us the reign period of Yudhisthira as the Magha century of the Saptarshis (3176-3076 B. C.) and the number of years 2526 that passed between the Svargarohana date of Yudhisthira 3076 B. C. and the beginning of Saka kala 550 B. C. There has been much misunderstanding as to what was meant by term Saka kala in this connection. Some say that Salivahana Saka is meant here, while others do not venture any interpretation. The author proposes to show in this article that Saka kala here is the Cyrus era which begins in 550 B. C.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A KAUTILYAN PASSAGE RE-EXAMINED

Shri Dilip Kumar Biswas

The paper discusses a list of gods, and goddesses included in the 'Prakarana' entitled 'Durga-nivesa' belonging to the second 'Adhikarana' of Kautilya's Arthasastra and points out that the current reading of the passage and the translations and interpretations based on it, are not satisfactory. It further suggests an alternative reading which would give a cogent and satisfactory explanation of the pasage.

INFLUENCE OF CLAY MODELLING ON THE ART OF BHARHUT

Dr. Kalyan Kumar Ganguli

Scholars have so far recognised the influence of the art of the wood carver and the painter on the art of Bharhut. The influence of the clay modeller, not much taken note of, however, appears to have been also of great consequence. The artists of Bharhut had experience of modelling in clay and this knowledge had helped them in overcoming the shortcomings of taking to new medium and acquiring mastery over the same without much delay.

MEDICINE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Dr. K. M. Choksey

The origin of medicine from the mists of mythology, difficulties in tracing a regular chronology, Antiquity of Hindu medicine.

Masters of medicine, Susruta, the father of Indian Surgery, Charaka the Physician, the age in which they lived and flourished, achievements of medicine, teaching at Takshasila and Nalanda, examinations, convocation etc.

Religious, social and political causes for the decline of medicine. Hindu medicine is not a quackery, but a great contribution to the science of life for the welfare of humanity.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

WHEN DID DEMETRIUS INVADE INDIA ?

SHRI AMARENDRA NATH LAHIRI

Modern scholars believe that the long-range Greek invasion of India and the occupation of Pataliputra, as referred to in the Yuga Purana, were acts of Demetrius. But there is a controversy over the date of this Greek invasion.

Dr. W. W. Tarn, who has made an elaborate study of the history of the *Greeks in Bactria and India*, speaks of Demetrius' achievements in terms of large-scale invasion, extensive conquests and prolonged occupation of strategic positions. To arrive at such far-reaching and definite conclusions, Tarn has to make a fanciful use of certain acts epithets of Antiochus IV of Syria and take Eucratides for his cousin and general. He seems also to ignore the context of the account of the Greek invasion, as recorded in the Yuga Purana, and make an inadequate and somewhat argitrary reading of the different traditions about Pushyamitra.

But the way, in which the Yuga Purana narrates the account of the Greek invasion, indicates that it happened *not long after* the reign of Salisuka Maurya (c.200 B.C.) and that the Greeks withdrew from India within a short time of their occupation of Pataliputra. The tale that the extant coins of Demetrius tell also corroborate this hypothesis.

Extreme scarcity of Demetrius' Indian coins, discovered as they always are in north-west India, clearly shows that his stay and rule in India was of a short duration and confined to the localities where they are unearthed. His expeditions to Pataliputra was therefore in the nature of a long-distance raid from his temporary seat of power in the north-west. moreover, the differences in the character of his portraits on Bactrian coins indicate that those coins were struck within a period of about 20 years, his youngest and oldest portraits depicting him as a man respectively of about 25 and 45 years. Keeping these facts in mind, and supposing with Tarn that he was a youth of about 19 years in 206 B. C. when he visited the camp of Antiochus III on his father's behalf, we get the year 180 as a probable date of the end of his career.

DATE OF THE IMADPUR IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS OF MAHIPALA I

DR. D. C. SIRCAR

The date of these inscriptions was read as *samatta* 48, i.e. Mahipala's 48th regnal year. Dr. R. C. Majumdar however reads *Sama* 148 of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Nepal era of 879-80 A. D. and suggests the inclusion of Nepal in the Pala empire which is in his opinion supported by certain manuscripts copied in the Pala dominions but found in Nepal or dated in the Nepal era or written in the Newari script. Against these views of Dr. Majumdar, an attempt has been made to prove the following points: (1) the word before 48 is *samanta* or *samatta*, one of the many corrupt variants of *samvat;* (2) the letter *nta* or *tta* cannot be read as a symbol for 100; (3) the discovery in Nepal of manuscripts copied by the subjects of the Pala kings does not prove Pala occupation of Nepal; (4) during the early days of Muslim rule in East India many scholars fled to the north with the books in their libraries; (5) till the close of the 12th century practically the same script was used in Bengal, East and North Bihar and Nepal; and (6) scholars (including professional copyists) of Bengal, Bihar and Nepal were often found to be working in any one of the regions outside their home territory.

VISHNUVARDHANA OF AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION FROM UNDAVALLI OF A.D. 1089

SHRI B. S. L. HANUMANTHA RAU

This inscription on a pillar in the temple of Bhimesvara at Undavalli records the consecration of Lord Bhimesvara and gift to the same by a certain Bhimaraja on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the year of 1011 of the Saka era (A.D. 1089). The year corresponded with the 10th regnal year of a certain SARVALOKASRAYA VISHNUVARDHANA MAHARAJA.

This Vishnuvardhana identified with Vira Choda who was the Viceroy of Vengi during the time of Kulottunga I. He was appointed in A.D. 1078 and remained there till 1092 with a break of 5 years from A.D. 1089 when his brother Chodaganga acted as the Viceroy. It seems that the period of Chodaganga's rule was treated as an interim arrangement and Vira Choda's regime was reckoned from the time of his first appointment to Vengi.

Kulottunga I himself, prompted by political reasons, kept up the show of Vengi's independence by allowing her rulers, who happened to be princes of royal blood, all the privileges of a sovereign.

The donor Bhimaraja may be identical with the father of Gonkaraja, the ruler of Dharanikota.

A NOTE ON THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS

SHRI G. H. KHARE

Through the kindness of Shri Dattatraya Sakharama Lad and his cousion Shri Ramachandra Govinda Lad, both of Poona, I had the occa-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

sion to examine three sets of copper-plates which were unearthed by the latter while clearing the house of the former at Kundal (South Satara, Bombay).

(1) The first was issued by Vijayaditya Chalukya of Badami in Saka 627 and in his 10th regnal year at the request (?) of one Vishnuraja of a Sinda dynasty. The donee was a Jaina Acharya connected with the Jina temple of Kundili and belonged to the Kashthacharya tradition to which belonged Vimalakirti also. Several fields in the vicinity of Kundili were granted for the temple.

(2) The second was issued by Rashtrakuta Govinda III in Saka 717. The donee seems to be acharya belonging to the Kashthacharya tradition. As the charter is incomplete and has been inscribed in a very bad hand nothing more can be made out at present.

(3) The third was issued by Mayuravarman of the Kadamba dynasty of Vanavasi in the Vijaya samvatsara falling after Saka 1200. This king having got a son by the favour of the Jaina goddess Ambika of Udumbaraja paid homage to the goddess with his son Prabhakara and donated the village Udumbaraja (Umbraj, North Satara) and some fields to one Gunadeva, the pupil of one Sripala.

These grants shed much new light on the Jain establshmemts of the two Satara districts and bring to ligh-altogether new personalities.

NEW MATERIALS FOR THE CHAHAMANA HISTORY

SHRI U. C. BHATTACHARYA

In the present note the author intends to deal with three inscribed stone pillar shafts attached to the Mandapa of a temple and incised at five different places on them. One of these bearing the date Samvat 1013 (earliest date so far known in the Chahamana chronology) makes mention of Maharajadhiraja Sri Simharaja. The author tries to show that this Simharaja is really the great Chahamana Ruler with the same name who was the son of Vakpatiraja I. This identification fits in with the date Samvat 1030 as assigned to Vigraharaja II—son and successor of Simharaja—in the well known Haras Hill Inscription (vide Bhandarkar's List No. 82). It is interesting to note that in the Haras Hill Inscription also Simharaja is called Maharajadhiraja.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE SO-CALLED TRIMURTI OF ELEPHANTA

PROFESSOR J. N. BANERJEA

The colossal three-faced bust at Elephanta was identified at firat as Trimurti. Gopinath Rao criticised this identification, and suggested that it represented Mahesamurti, a particular aspect of Siva. A suggestion has been made in the present paper that the sculpture really stands for the combinde form of Siva (in his placid and terrific aspects) and Uma.

ITINERARY OF BAKHTIYAR KHALJI (1195—1206 A.D.)

SHRIMATI SUSHILA MANDAL

The author describes the itinerary of Bakhtiyar Khalji from his journey from Garamsir to the court of Ghazna and his later career in India.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SECTION II

712-1206 A. D.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

SECTION II

NIHAR-RANJAN RAY

I do not know if you realise how kind and generous you have been to me in electing as President of your Section, one who, though an humble member for years, has never attended any of the sessions of the Indian History Congress nor helped in any manner its organisation and administration. I have been nursing a guilty conscience on that score, and if you would believe me, at one time I even hesitated if I should accept this honour, great as it is. But, eventually I persuaded myself to think that, after all, here was a chance to break the ice and get to know the people whose valuable contributions have helped me know my people and my country across the passage of time. Many of you I know by name and reputation and by your works, and the temptation to know you personally became almost irresistible. This partly explains the reason why I am here. Partly also that I am not so great as to be able to ignore the temptation that a proffered honour brings with it, though only for a while. Certainly this is a concession to human frailty, and I am only much too human.

But, I am not so vain, I can assure you, as to think that I deserve the honour you have done me. I have not, frankly speaking, the standing of a historian as I understand the term, nor have I been able to acquire the devoted steadfastness that characterises a serious student of any recognised discipline. I have been, in my time, offering flowers to many a muse, and occasionally, one or tow of them, in their gracious bounteousness chose to throw a smile on me in return. Here is an instance of one of those smiles from one of the muses, the muse of history, and I am grateful beyond words. After all, literature apart, someone has to be made a President for a certain purpose, and since I have been at the game for well high quarter of a century, your choice chanced to fall on me. There have been as many as sixteen sessions of the Congress, each year with four or more sections, and by sheer logic of simple mathematics you reach a stage when you have to look for individuals outside of the orbit of the really deserving people. And so, here am I, without any illusions, if I may say so. Nevertheless, I feel beholden to you for your kindly thinking of me, especially since I have never been before your eyes. May I tell you very frankly, I prize the honour you have done me.

From what you know, I presume, of my background, I believe, you do not expect of me to deliver a profound, inspiring and informative address as your Sectional President. Besides, for the last one year or so, I have

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

been living and working in a neighbouring country that was badly shattered by the last World War, away from my usual haunt at Calcutta University, in a place that lacks, at the moment, a good library and hence the tools of our trade. I have had no access to any reference material, not even the recent standard works on different aspects, phases and periods of Indian history covered by this Section. This is not, I can assure you, an invitation to agree with me in what I say, but an humble application for consideration, if you like. What I propose to do is brief, is to think aloud and present nothing in the form of conclusions reached after detailed scrutiny and examination. From my point of view, historical research is a continous process of experiment with truth.

I should be the last person to contest that history of any given time and space is basically and essentially a record of facts, an objective chronicle of events and ideas and environs and atmospheres. Yet, it is difficult not to hold at the same time that it is also speculation and interpretation at a very high imaginative and intellectual level. Historical thought and methods of construction of history of any given period are very largely conditioned and determined by the laws of evidence, science of logic and the ideas and ideals recognised as valid by a given age, and no historian can function beyond the limit imposed by them.

Judging from this standpoint I think we have reasons to congratulate ourselves on what we have been able to achieve in course of the last one hundred years by way of objective recording of facts and of chronicling of events of the period under review. Generations of scholars, dead and alive, have laboured hard to fix and stabilise the basic chronology of the period, so that today the dynastic chronicle of the entire period stands on relatively solid foundations; the narrative of kings and their ministers and the wars they waged and the description of the respective administrative machineries they evolved in their respective regions are more or less determined with relative precision of outline and contour. There are yet gaps indeed, but not of the kind and nature that would nullify the material facts known so far or add so much to our knowledge as to bring about a qualitative transformation of our ideas about the period relating to main facts. Yet, each one of us would feel happy to see the skeletons filled up more and more in every little detail. Fortunately, archaeology of this period has yielded and is yielding every year rich materials for such history as we have been working on. Every year new epigraphs are coming to light and are steadily being edited and studied adding to the rich corpus already available for the period; new texts, mostly of a technical nature are also yielding casual information. And, besides, we have also been able to improve our knowledge of the methods and technique of using these materials for purposes of history. Certainly we must not relax our efforts to exploit this ever widening treasure house for the purpose

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of making our dynastic and political chronicle of the period as complete as possible. I think you would agree with me when I say that there is happily no evidence to accuse ourselves that we are slow or neglectful in our efforts in this direction. For, after all, who would deny that positive chronology and political history is the frame of reference of history, and dynastic history, besides doing other things, helps us to build that chronological and political framework. Moreover, a knowledge of the administrative structure of the regional states, large and small, of the period, which is being gained, peice by piece, by the patient labour of batches of scholars in course of the last fity years or so, is also a very valuable asset in as much as it affords us a clearer understanding of the dominant socio-politiccal ideas and attitudes of the various regions of India, as put into administrative practice by the ruling princes and their ministers. Indeed, our past achievements and contemporary efforts in these directions are such as one can legitimately feel proud of. Certainly our grateful appreciation of the contributions already made in these aspects of history of this period is not to be measured by the number of laudatory words that one use on such occasions as this.

One of the duties of your President, I have been told, is to indicate and suggest new ways and avenues of research as well as new methods and techniques. I do not know if I am capable of doing so, but in my own way I have given some thought to the problem of construction of history so far as the period under review is concerned, and I would humbly lay before you, as briefly as I can, for your kind consideration, a few of my ideas in this connection.

All these ideas flow from a basic assumption which is perhaps somewhat philosophical. The assumption is that life is a totality which cannot be understood in its proper context and perspective when looked at and examined in isolated compartments. History being nothing but a record of this total process of life in a given time and space, has to be studied and understood, not in isolated compartments, but as a totality to the extent that human intelligence and imagination are capable of on the basis of proven facts. The essence of this totality has to be found in the intimate relationship and integrated association of one aspect or compartment of human life with another, since one is affected and conditioned, positively or negatively and in varying degress, by another.

Once this assumption is accepted as a valid working hypothesis, one cannot then escape the idea that political history cannot be interpreted as mere dynastic chronicle without any relation to the material background and to social and economic ideas and happenings of the time, and even as a matter of that, to religious and spiritual ideas and experiences. Speaking of the period under review I do not know how we can explain the vicissitudes of political fortune of the last days of Hindu rule in Bengal,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

for example, without reference to the dominant socio-religious ideas and happenings of the time, or interpret, to cite another example, the penetration of Deccanese and Southern powers into the political arena of the north without reference to the relating material, especially economic superiority of the former over the latter, or, to cite a third example, explain the military exploits of Rajendra Chola with reference to Chola maritime trade and commerce and its competition with contemporary Arab and Chinese attempts to trade with the countries bordering the Bay of Bengal and with the islands and countries of South-east Asia. One could go on citing examples of the kind, but it is not necessary, I believe.

I love to imagine that we have today reached a stage in our research pursuits when serious attempts should be made to reconstruct our political history of the period under review, not by presenting facts in their isolation from the total trend of contemporary life, but by placing them in the context and against the background of the total situation as effected and conditioned by related aspects of life. For, facts in their isolation do not mean anything, it is only in their essential relatedness that they become invested with meaning and purpose.

I am fully conscious that the task is not very easy, especially when one is likely to be told that we have not enough materials to enable us to do so. Perhaps this is true to an extent, but certainly not to the whole extent. At least in so far as the period under review is concerned, materials are not so scarce, as often alleged, materials that are dependable on accepted laws of evidence. Indeed, I do believe, the rich series of epigraphic records of the period, nothing to speak of other sources, have not been approached properly to yield the essential facts that we need for the purpose. They contain much more information at times than mere dates and names of kings and occasionally, direct or indirect references to wars and sieges, or to donations of lands to a temple or to an individual.

If this is true of our political history, it is much more so of our social and economic and general cultural history of the period including the arts, visual and literary, and the crafts, as well as the great religious ideas and practices and spiritual endeavours of countless dedicated souls that together give meaning and direction to the history and culture of India of any given time and space.

Not that no work has been done in these fields. For from it, indeed, some very admirable work has been done in the art and religious history of the period, more or less in a general key, and they are replete with data and interpretations that are contained in themselves. But neither the art or leterary life, nor the religious, can stand by itself or themselves; not only they are deeply inter-related, but also we can no longer escape the fact that they are very largely conditioned by contemporary socio-economic facts and factors, sometimes also by political. I am afraid this has

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

not sufficiently been taken into account, with the result that when we are told the history of the arts or of religion, for example, we fail to see in what relation they stood with other important aspects of life. To my mind this is a serious lack of our understanding of the function of history. The literary activity of the Pallava period, the great Orissan and Chola Schools of art, the Central Indian School of art, the art schools of Gujarat and of the hill states of Nepal and Tibet, as well as of Eastern India all belong to this period. They are great in themselves and are witness of intense creative activity of our people, and it is difficult to imagine that they owe their inspiration to religion alone and are unrelated to contemporary socio-economic and general cultural life. So often these movements have been sought to be interpreted in terms of individual patronage. There may be something more to it than appear on the surface.

Chapters on social conditions, economic facts and factors, on religion and even on literary and artistic activities, etc. form invariable parts of standard publications of history of this period. One must admit we labour hard to get together whatever facts we can lay our hands on. But here too what we lack is an idea of their mutual inter-relationship which is mainly a matter of critical interpretation. Besides, to my mind, it seems, there is yet enough scope for work of specialised nature in the shape and form of papers and monographs before we can reach a clearer and fuller socio-economic picture of the times. To take only one example, land system of the period is a subject of utmost importance and we do not know sufficiently enough to get a clear picture of the period, say of land measurements, land prices, land tenure, rights and obligations on land, classification of land, and so on, and so forth. The large majority of the epigraphic records of the period are land grants and I find it hard to believe that they give us no information on these questions. Structure of prices of consumer goods is also another important item, and it is not impossible to some information on this question as well. Whatever facts we can glean on this point is worth exploiting for purpose of filling up the total socio-economic picture. The structure of the caste system and its relation to the contemporary social and economic pattern, particularly to the various economic classes is also very little known. In this matter I am not prepared to go entirely by the law books, that is, the Dharmasūtras and Śāstras, or other literary texts, even if they are contemporaneous, for, from my little experience I know that the epigraphic records, not unoften, tell a different tale. These are only a few examples out of the many that we need pay our attention to. Epigraphic records and other archaeological materials of the period, as well as literary records of non-sacerdotal charter provide us with a rich mine of information. So far we have approached this mine for surface scratching only for information that are immediate and direct. That is, we have got what we asked for.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

But I can assure you from my little knowledge of such materials, that they are capable of yielding much more. We have only to approach them with new sets of questions in our mind. Hindu Brāhmanical ritual demands that one must incant the specific *mantra* for the specific purpose in mind to make the divinity deliver the desired boon. I am afraid, our method has also to be the same. "*Yādriśī bhāvanā yasya siddhir-bhavati tādriśī.*"

Equally, if not more important, is the need of the detailed picture of the religious movements and spiritual and creative endeavours of the period. To my mind this is a great creative period of our history and we do not know sufficiently enough to form a clear picture of the religious and the emotional and intelledtual life of our people residing in the widely flung areas of the country that we call Bhāratavarsha. No doubt, we have gathered a mass of isolated facts but have not yet been able to knit them together in their proper context and against the right background. This is a very important and, at the same time, a very difficult task and calls for the highest imaginative and intellectual faculties, also a wide and deep knowledge of ethnology and sociology, as well as of the history of other cultures and civilisations. In this respect, too, our great historic monuments of the period, our schools of art, our long series of epigraphic records, and occasionally literary texts of secular and religious significance afford a clear picture, I believe, of the creative mind of the period. We have only to enlarge our ideas and vision to be able to build up the picture, line by line and shade by shade. This will undoubtedly call for generations of critical study and research, but I believe, this is worth doing if we want to understand the spirit of the times which, to my mind, is what history seeks to do. I shall presently tell you why.

Old prejudices die hard. There is a general tendency, even in knowledgeable circles, to characterise this period as the beginning of the 'mediaeval' period and hence of 'mediaevalism' in Indian history and culture, using the term 'mediaeval' not only in the accepted chronological sense but also in a connotative manner, suggesting explicitly, or by implication, that the creative period of Indian history and culture ended with the exhaustion of the ideas and ideals of what is called the golden and the 'classical' age of the imperial Guptas and their immediate successors. These terms, 'classical' and 'mediaeval' we learnt, it seems, in the context of our lessons in the history of Greece and Rome and of western Europe, and naturally sought to employ them in the context of Indian history and culture. With the history of mediaeval Europe at the back of our mind, we tried to imply that after the disintegration of Gupta 'classicism' by about the end of the seventh century, what followed in India was but the beginning of steady schematisation of art and thought, of increasingly growing obedience to authority and tradition, of increasing ritualism and sacerdotalism, of increasing sub-infeudation of land and growing authority

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of landlords, and of increasingly rigid formalism in all directions of life. The pattern explicitly stated or implied seems to have pursued the same line as it did in mediaeval Europe, mainly western Europe.

This interpretation of the period under review is sought to be buttressed by certain facts drawn from contemporary political and cultural history of India, namely the people of India or, at any rate, their rulers during this period lost sight of the idea of the fundamental geographical and cultural unity of the land and of the ideal of imperial sovereignty, and graddually sank back into the ideal of regional autonomy. An increasingly regional consciousness, as opposed to all-India consciousness, seems to have hold of the Indian mind which is said to have reflected itself in the growth of local regional political authorities in different parts of the country, in the history of the origin of regional scripts, dialects and languages, and even in art forms which crystallised into local regional schools of art and architecture. This is a fact which cannot lightly be brushed aside. For, if we have to seek for the genesis and the formative period of these scripts, dialects and languages as well as of the regional art schools we have to seek for them in this period. Indeed, there was no longer, even relatively speaking, any common denominator for the whole of India, even for India north of the Vindhyas. There were regional variations and regional characterstics in earlier ages too, but they all could be referred to a common denominator. During this period we can no longer speak of such a common denominator in any aspect of our cultural life. Similarly, it cannot be doubted that the ideal of all-India suzerainty, even of pan-North India suzerainty, was replaced by the ideal of local regional supremacy.

Moreover, it is pointed out that literary activities of the period degenerated into the writing of soulless poetry and drama characterised more by technical virtuosity than by creative inspiration, and thinkers and scholars ceased to be original and creative. They concerned themselves more with compilation work and with writing of glosses and commentaries on original texts of a bygone age. The period under review, we are told further, did not produce a Bhāsa or Kālidāsa, an Aśvaghosha or Asanga. And finally, we are told, these tendencies of life led to a general stagnation and petrification of the total process of Indian life itself which, in its rturn, paved the way for eventual domination of by far the larger portion of India by an alien people with an alien way of life.

The interpretation is perhaps much too facile; yet it is difficult to ignore altogether the facts and the force of the facts.

What I would like to draw your attention to is that these are not the *only* facts, and partial conglomeration of facts may, at times, be dangerous. There are other facts of no less significance. If it is the history of growing formalism and increasing petrification of the total life process, how is it

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

that we have during this period such a great creative intellect as Śankarāchārya who gave almost an original orientation to the wisdom of the Upanishad and of the older systems of Indian philosophy, such great and significant religious movements as the Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna in Eastern India or the Bhakti movement in Śivaism and Vishnuism in the South, or characteristic Śivaism in Kasmir. How can we explain such great schools of art as the Orissan and Central Indian, Chola and Chalukya, East Indian and West Indian? Indeed, except for certain late examples in Gujarāt and Rājputānā, in Bengal and the South, there is hardly anything in the whole realm of India, that we can call petrified and decadent, bizarre or baroque. The heroic rock-cut sculptures of Elephanta and Ellora of the eighth century, the magnificent stone sculptures and bronzes of the Chola period, the South Indian bronzes of Alavar saints, the beautiful Pāla sculptures and bronzes of Bengal and Bihar, and the delightfully sculptured world of Orissa and Central India reach the high waves of the human spirit of any age and clime of India's history and culture. They are not traditional in any way, despite strict contemporary injunctions of *pratimā-lakshaṇa* texts and technical treatises on stone-cutting and bronze casting. Where stone-cutting and bronze casting physiognomical form or in the treatment of the contours of the body or in the general composition of lines and surfaces they reveal creative urge and inspiration that compare favourably with those of the so called 'classical' age of the Guptas. Their ideas and ideals were different indeed, but difference is certainly not a criterion of decadence.

If sculpture was on a high level, architecture was on a higher level still, and I do not know of any other realms of life during this period when men and women were more deeply moved to express themselves in solid plastic terms of sculpture and architecture. Indeed, I find it difficult to imagine that such a high level could have been possible without a deep creative urge and inspiration welling out from the depth of life itself, or that the magnificent temples of Bhuvaneśvar, Konārak and Khajurāho, and of the Deccan and the South of the time of the Chalukyas and Cholas, for example, could have been built without the spur and inspiration of great religious movements and deep spiritual convictions.

Yet we do not know the full picture of what these religious movements and spiritual convictions were. It is not enough to say that the iconology of the gods and goddesses follow the injunctions and symbology of the *Purāṇas*, *Āgamas* and the *Pratimā-lakshaṇa*-texts, or to say that the temples follow the canons of *Vāstu-śāstra*, but we should be able to explain where the vitality and vigour and variety of the scuptural forms came from or wherefrom do the magnificent forms and dignified proportions of the temples are derived.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The evolution of vernacular literature is also by itself a significant factor in the total cultural life of the people and is one more example of the great creative process that must have been at work. The conscious striving of a people to articulate themselves more and more not only in a new manner and form but also evolving new structures of speech is by itself a heroic process, nothing to speak of the individual and collective courage and personality required for the purpose.

Even politically speaking, the history of the resistance of the continuous thrust of Arab and other Islamic powers for more than two hundred and fifty years, by the Pratihāras and their Rājput successors and the way the Cholas and other Deccanese and Southern powers guarded and maintained their maritime supremacy over the Bay of Bengal and also partly over the Arab and Chinese traders, are examples of the strength, courage and resourcefulness that Indians were still capable of during this period.

What I am trying to point out to you is that these are characteristics of a total life which can by no standard be called formalistic, purely sacredotal, decadent and debilitative. Yet we have not yet collected, studied and analysed the materials that would prove this contention. For, the whole thing presupposes a revised study and evaluation of the social, economic and political data so far available, as well as collection of new data from available records, both literary and archaeological. The source of the creative inspiration I have hinted at is to be found, I believe, in the contemporary social, political and economic life as much as in the religious, spiritual and aesthetic, in a word, in the material, emotional and intellectual life of the people. I have no doubt, that this life was as vigorous and as varied, as rich and as powerful during this period as in the preceding six or seven hundred years, and perhaps more civilised and sophisticated. Only its character and direction were different, perhaps also its ideals and attitudes. What this character and direction, ideals and attitudes were is the problem that awaits an answer. We can find that answer, may be after generations of intelligent and critical work, if only we are prepared to orientate ourselves to new ways of thinking and doing.

One more speculative thought I would try to place before you for your serious consideration. To my mind the solution of this problem might afford us the keys to explain some of the more significant characteristics of history of this period as well as of the period that immediately follows. The problem has been brought up to the surface by historians of Indian art.

From about the beginning of the eighth century at any rate, if not from a century or so earlier, certain elements begin to make their appearance in Indian art sporadically to begin with but as days march on, more intermittently. The quality of the line, in painting predominantly but also in sculpture the character of the composition, the attitude towards and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

treatment of the volume, etc. take a turn hitherto unknown and unpractised except in very isolated examples, and seek to transform some of the basic values and standards of our art of the so-called 'classical' phase. The pressure is maintained systematically up to a very late period in Indian art resulting in the introduction of a new vision and approach and also new styles and techniques of treatment and presentation. The paintings of Ellora, the West Indian miniatures of the 11th-15th century, certain phases of Rājasthān and Pahādī paintings of the 16th-19th century, textile designs of gold and silver ornaments of our women of today, 17th-19th century terracottas from Bengal, Assam and other places of India, are but few examples of this vision and approach, of this style and treatment. The same vision, approach, style and treatment are noticeable in sculpture as well, especially of Saurāshṭra and Rājasthān of the 10th-14th century, but not to the same extent and depth.

Russian and German schools of art historians and archaeologists have traced these new elements in Indian art to northern nomadic ethnic intrusions into the body social of India onwards from the beginning of the Christian era till the end of the period under review and also later. The Śakas, Kushāṇas, Ābhīras, Hūṇas, Gurjaras, Turks and the Mongols are only the more well-known of these northern nomads who poured avalanche-like into the plains of India through the north western passes, and it is only likely that they brought along with them their own way of life, their institutions, their visions and techniques. An ethnic-cultural pressure maintained through centuries, with the political and military backing that the ruling dynasties set up in India, by many of these peoples, could not but fail to leave some impress and effect on Indian culture and civilisation in a general way as well as in specific items of thought and action.

We know already, and it is generally recognised that our theory of kingship in so far as the divinity of the king was concerned was heavily orientated by Śaka-Kushāṇa ideology; our administrative machinery in some of its major aspects, was also affected by Śaka-Kushāṇa principles of administration. We also know that they and their northern nomadic successors heavily influenced the dress and food habits of India north of the Vindhyas, from the eastern borders of the Uttar Pradeśa right upto the western borders of India. All these peoples, except the Turks and Mogols, were thoroughly Hinduised, in blood and in culture; yet it is only natural, sociologically speaking, that in becoming Hinduised they transformed, to a certain extent at least, the warp and woof of the Hindu social and cultural pattern. If the Śaka-Kushāṇas contributed to Indian religion and inconology a new conception of Sūrya, to cite only one example, the Ābhīras in their turn contributed at least one aspect of the well-known Krishṇa legend—the legend of Krishṇa the cowherd which has essentially

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a nomadic pastoral background. The Hūṇa contribution to Indian culture is, to my mind, perhaps, much more than we have so far taken account of. We must not ignore the implications of the fact that they have given names to a number of villages in Madhya Bhārat that still endure, and that there is still a caste surname Hūṇa in these regions of India. The contribution of the Gurjaras and the Pratihāras to Indian politics, and to place names in India from Kashmir to Gujarāt, are well-known and recognised. The memory of their nomadic pastoral habits still survive in local folk songs. The ruling dynasties that grew up on the ruins of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire and whom we know by the blanket term of Rājputs or Rājaputras and the peoples over whom they and their successors ruled for centuries, are none but the descendants of the hordes of the northern nomads of whom we have been speaking who by about the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries had already become integrated with the Indian population. It is very significant that the new vision and approach the language of form of art I spoke of a while ago, finds their densest and most emphatic expression in those parts of India where these northern nomads settled down in relative conglomeration—namely, in Rājasthān, Gujarāt, Madhya Bhārat and the Himalayan slopes of the Punjab.

We know the Hūṇas shattered the fabric of the house the Guptas had built. The attempt that the Pushpabhūtis and their great king Harshavardhana made was but an interlude to be shortly engulfed by the waves of the great Gurjara-Pratihāras whose successors, the Rājput dynasties, put forward the strongest resistance against the Turkish hordes. Certainly in Indian politics, this northern nomadic intrusion averaged as the strongest factor to be reckoned with, and this almost simultaneously with the beginning of the period under review.

But not in politics alone, in art too, this is about the time when northern nomadic accents and idioms, referred to above, begin to make their appearance, and with the progress of time gradually become the strongest language of art form to be reckoned with side by side with the other older or so called 'classical' language brought to a fulfilment during the time of the Guptas and their successors. True, we see the first beginnings of this new language of form in stray examples like the statue of Kanishka and the decorative patterns round the belt of the Dhamek stupa; but not until the eighth century did it become relatively general.

It is thus clear that a movement of peoples that started from the beginning of the Christian era and continued in intermittent waves, took about seven hundred years or more to make its full impact felt, a fact and phenomenon that need not cause surprise. Such phenomenon has occurred elsewhere in history when and where elements brought from outside lie submerged or dormant for centuries only to come up to the surface as and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

when favourable opportunity presents itself. If it happens so often in individual life, it does happen in collective life as well.

The Saka-Kushāṇas and the Ābhiras were the earliest, so far as we know, of these northern nomads to penetrate far into India, and gradually become integrated with the Indian population. Both of them founded ruling dynasties, and to an extent also the Hūṇas. So did the Gurjara Pratihāras as well. Politically and militarily they had to be reckoned with from the beginning, but culturally, it was not so easy for their way of life to be impressed on the already existing one which could resist any foreign intrusion by its own vitality, volume and vigor. The problem of acculturation is a complex one, and it always takes time for one culture to be recognised and accepted by, and integrated into, another. The foreign elements brought in by these northern nomads therefore lay dormant for quite a long time until the 'classical' vitality, volume and vigour showed signs of disintegration and became weak. The Hūṇas paved the way for the purpose, and then the vitality of the older tradition was also exhausting itself. In any case, the resultant effect was that India had to build up a resistance and at the same time find avenues for adjustment to the new rules, standards and institutions that were, in any case, carving out riches for themselves.

Something else too was happening, more or less at the same time. For the first time in Indian history perhaps, the sub-Himalayan countries including Kashmir, Nepal and Tibet were opening their gates, for India to get into their realms and for them to enter into the arena of Indian politics and Indian life. Parenthetically, I am not thinking of the traditions that link Aśoka or the Kushāṇas with Kashmir. However, the move I am speaking of began already in the seventh century, but from about the eighth, it gained momentum and the relations of Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and other Himalayan tracts with the Gangetic plain and eastern India became, for one reason or other more intimate, and remained so till the end of the period under review. This meant an infusion of another ethnic and cultural element into the body social of India. Not that the pressure was very strong, but nevertheless certain social and cultural adjustments had to be made, and hence a revaluation of existing standards and values and a certain heart searching had to be done.

If this is what was happening in India north of the Vindhyas, the Deccan and the Far South were, at the beginning of the period, emerging into a new consciousness of life through a different process altogether. Uptil the middle of the seventh century it was the North that was making inroads into the South; the whole thing was but a part of Aryanisation and Hinduisation of the Deccan and the South. Harshavardhana's unsuccessful encounter with Pulakesin II on the Narmadā was the last episode in that process. The tide now turned, in favour of the Deccan and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the South, and by about the third quarter of the eighth century we see them marching their armies into the very heart of the North. This goes on practically till the end of our period. And this is also the period, we should remember, for great sculptural and architectural activities in the Deccan and the South and for great religious movements, the last sending its reverberations to the North. Śankarāchārya was the forerunner of many others to blaze the track.

At the same time, the Deccan and the South were also experiencing a struggle of altogether a different kind. The Roman Empire broke up in 476 A. D., and in another one hundred years whatever remained of their supremacy in maritime trade and commerce in the Eastern Seas all but completely disintegrated. In another century or so the Arabs became once more the dominant power in maritime trade and commerce and were successful in finding a foothold in Sind. They took over practically the entire trade of the sea board of India that had once been in the hands of the Romans. This trade the Arabs came to share, just as the Romans did in their time, with the Deccanese and South Indian powers. Indeed, so far as the latter were concerned, this maritime trade and commerce formed their life blood which incidentally perhaps explains why at least more than one Deccanese power had to seek alliance with Islamic powers in their struggle against contemporary northern kings. Later, both Deccanese and Southern powers had to live in close competition with the Arab merchants so far as the trading in Indian waters was concerned, till the end of the period under review.

All this must have meant a quickening of human consciousness, and generated an active resistance inside the body social and politic, resulting again in a revaluation and restatement of hitherto known and practised values, traditions and standards.

Thus, whether in the North or in the Deccan and the Far South, certain things of altogether different sorts were taking place leading to different sets of circumstances, but resulting in more or less the same sort of building up of resistance from within, at the same time calling for adjustments in response to certain demands on contemporary life, and for revaluation and creative restatement of inherited values, standards and traditions.

This explains to a certain extent, to my mind, the vigour and vitality of the creative inspiration of the period that I referred to at the beginning and which is so emphatically stressed in the art and architecture, in the religious and spiritual expressions and in the social and economic life of contemporary India. It is only towards the end of the period that we find some sort of tiredness and exhaustion of this vitality in certain parts of India, especially in the North. But that is a different theme which I need not go into at the present moment.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

What I have sought to state is only a tentative working hypothesis based on available and well-known data. On scrutiny and further examination it may be found to be entirely wrong, or only partially correct, and not good enough to be pursued seriously. We shall then have to frame another working hypothesis and repeat the process. For, it is in the process of subjecting our working hypothesis to scrutiny and examination that we bring new facts to light, learn the art of evaluation of facts and their mutual inter-relationships, and thus help ourselves to arrive at correct interpretation of facts. Whether the interpretations of facts and events I have set forth are correct or not matters very little, but what does matter in the long run is that we must able to interpret the characterisation of the period and bring out its essential values, standards, traits and tendencies. Once this is done we must be able to tell ourselves why they are as we interpret them to have been. Or, otherwise we are not believing and working as historians.

To be able to do what, to my mind, is the duty of all history writers of the period we must pay at this stage more attention to social, economic, religious and general cultural history of the times we are concerned with than we have done hitherto, and this not in any isolated and exclusive manner but within a total integrated vision that views all facts and factors in their essential relatedness. Life is one whole and there is no reason why history of human life in a given time and space should be different.

There is one more reason of my pleading for more emphasis on the total social side of our history, and when I use the word 'social' I use the word in the modern sense, which comprises political, economic, religious, spiritual and other activities in which man as a social animal, keeps himself engaged. Society in India, until very recent times, was hardly ever king-and state-centred; it was always and invariably centred round our rural and civic communities of which the king with his state machinery was only a unit. Despite our *Arthaśāstras* and *Daṇḍanītis* and our *Arthachintakas*, and their upholding of monarchy, even sometimes of tight centralised bureaucracy, the general attitude was decidedly more social than political in the narrow sense, and though the king was the protector and preserver, he had nothing to do with the enunciation of social norms, standards, laws, ideas, ideals and institutions. It was always the village and civic societies that the Indians cared and worked for, and not so much for the king and the state, though they never grudged to give the king his share of homage and respect, and of course the taxes. Even the approach and attitude of such an upholder of centralised monarchy and air-tight bureaucracy as Kauṭilya, was decidedly socio-economic rather than political, in the narrow sense.

I am afraid we have so far been paying too much attention to dynastic

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

narratives and narrow political events and episodes. I do not minimise their importance especially when, fortunately or unfortunately, all our records are more or less dynastic records, documents that issued from the king and his court. But I cannot help thinking that we shall hardly ever reach at the correct meaning and perspective of India's history of a given time and space if we do not approach, whatever our subject, topic or problem and whatever the method, from the larger social angle.

Man in India of the past was a social being and *not* as one Greek Philosopher said (was it Plato?) a political being. And to understand the march of men in India across the passage of centuries we have to approach the subject from the standpoint of the social thought of India.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INDRAGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA ṆAṆṆA

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PROF. V. V. MIRASH

This inscription has recently been discovered at Indragaḍh near Bhānpurā about 13 miles from the station Jhalawar Road on the main line of the Western Railway. A preliminary notice of the record by Dr. H. V. Trivedī has appeared in the *Indian Histirical Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, pp. 193f. Another account of it together with a full transcript and Hindi translation by Mr. V. S. Vakankar has also been published in the newspaper *Madhya Bhārat Sandesh*, dated the 15th August 1954, a copy of which has kindly been sent to me by the author. On reading these articles my curiosity was aroused as an attempt has been made in them to connect the Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Madhya Pradesh with that ruling in Madhya Bhārat. I therefore propose to examine this question at some length here.

The inscription records the construction of a temple of Śiva by the Pāśupata Āchārya Dānarāśi during the reign of a king of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty whose name has been read as Ṇaṇṇa by Trivedī[1] and as Ṇaṇṇappa by Vakankar[2]. His father's name also has been read differently by these scholars viz. as Bhāsvāna by Trivedī and as Bhāmāna by Vakankar. As no facsimile of the record has yet been published, it is not possible to check these readings, but *prima facie* Bhāmāna appears to be more probable than Bhāsvāna as it occurs more than once in the Kahla plates of Kalāchuri

1. भास्वानस्य प्रसूतिः प्रकटितयशसो राष्ट्रकूटान्वयस्य श्रीणण्णारव्यः स राजा जयति निजगुणैरज्जिताशेषलोकः ॥

2. He reads भामानस्य in place of भास्वानस्य, and श्रीणण्णप्प- in place of श्रीणण्णारव्यः

Soḍhadeva while Bhāsvāna is at least not so well known. Ṇaṇṇa and Ṇaṇṇappa are not very different, though the latter name would perhaps indicate that the family came from the south. So we may take it that the inscription was put up during the reign of Ṇaṇṇa, the son of Bhāmāna of the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage. It is dated in the year 767 of the Mālava kings i.e. in the Vikrama year 767 or A.D. 711-12.

Both Trivedī and Vakankar have tried to identify this king with the homonymous prince whose genealogy is given as under in the Tivarkhed[1] and Multai[2] plates—

Durgarāja
|
(son)
Govindarāja
|
(son)
Svāmikarāja
|
(son)
Nannarāja

The date V. 767 (A. D. 711) of this record lends colour to this identification; for it is only two years later than the date Śaka 631 (A.D. 709) of the Multai plates.[3] The difference in the names of the fathers of these two rulers viz. Bhāmāna in the Indragaḍh inscription and Svāmikarāja in the Multai plates, however, presents a difficulty. Trivedī has passed over it in silence, while Vakankar has tried to explain it away by supposing that Bhāmāna may have been another name of Svāmikarāja. The explanation is hardly convincing; for there is no basis for such a conjecture. Identifying these two rulers viz. Ṇaṇṇa of the Indragaḍh inscription and Ṇaṇṇa of the Multai plates, these two scholars have concluded that the empire of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Madhya Pradesh extended beyond Indragaḍh in Madhya Bhārat in the beginning of the 8th century A. D. From the Uṇḍivāṭikā grant which has been referred to the seventh century A.D. it has been conjectured that a Rāshṭrakūṭa king named Abhimanyu was ruling on the Mhow—Hoshangabad region with his capital at Mānapur which lies about half-way between Achalapur and Indragaḍh. As his kingdom lay immediately to the north of that of Ṇaṇṇa in Berar, Trivedī presumes that either the Mānapura house came to an end before the Indragaḍh record was engraved or it may have been completely overthrown by Ṇaṇṇa. This has also been conjectured by Vakankar.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 476 f.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 f.
3. The Tivarkhed plates are dated in Saka 553, and the Multai plates in Saka 631. There is thus a difference of 78 years between these two dates. Trivedi takes the date of the Tivarkhed plates to be Saka 633. I have shown that the plates are spurious. See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 138 f.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

This is the second time that the theory of a large Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom existing before the rise of the later Imperial family descended from Dantivarman has been advanced. Ten years ago Dr. M. H. Krishna advanced the theory that before the rise of the Early Chālukyas of Badami there was a large Rāshṭrakūṭa empire extending from the Mahānadī and the Tāpī in the north to the Bhīmā in the south in the sixth century A.D. Now we have a similar theory of another large Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. which extended from the Pūrṇā in the south to the Chambal in the north. The first theory was exploded by Dr. Altekar in his article published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 f. He pointed out that in the sixth century A. D. there were other kings, not the Rāshṭrakūṭas, ruling over the main parts of Mahārāshṭra. In an article which was published shortly afterwards in the same journal,[1] I pointed out that Dr. Krishna's theory was based on the wrong identification of the Śarabhapurīya kings Mānamātra and Sudevarāja with the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings Mānānka and Devarāja. I agreed with Dr. Altekar that there was no extensive Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire in the Deccan in the sixth centruy A.D., but I pointed out from an examination of several copper-plate grants that in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. there did flourish in the Deccan a Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty descended from Mānānka, which ruled from Mānapura. I further showed that in view of the known find-spots of some copper-plate grants of this family, their capital Mānapura is probably identical with Māṇ in the Satārā District of the Bombay State. This view has now been generally accepted.

Let us next proceed to examine the second theory of a Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom extending from the Pūrṇā in the south to the Chambal in the north in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The only arguments for such a theory are the identity of the names Nanna of the Multai plates and Naṇṇa (or Naṇṇappa) of the Indragaḍh inscription and the proximity of the dates of the two records. As regards the identity of names, it may be pointed out that Nanna was a very common name in ancient times. From the inscriptions of the Somavamśīs of Dakshiṇa Kosala, for instance, we know of three Nannas[2] who flourished in the same period viz. Tīva-

1. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 f. This article requires some correction in the light of recent discoveries. It is now proved that the Siroda plates belong to a king of the Bhoja dynasty. Again, from a subsequent study of the original plates of Madhavavarman, I have come to the conclusion that they belong to the well-known Vishnukundin king of that name. Further, as the Tivarkhed plates have now been proved to be spurious, the relation between the Rashtrakuta families of Southern Maharashtra and Vidarbha conjectured in that article is not likely. With these modifications the conclusions in that article will appear correct.
2. The first and third Nannas are mentioned in the Baloda plates of Tivaradeva. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 102 f. That Tivaradeva had also a son named Nanna has recently become known from a copper plate grant discovered in Chhattisgadh.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

radeva's father, his son and his son-in-law, all of whom bore the same name Nanna. So identity of names is no sure proof of identification. Besides, we must remember that the fathers of these two kings bore different names. The father of Naṇna ruling in Vidaṛbha was named Svāmikarāja while that of Nanna of Indıagaḍh was named Bhāmāna. We have no reason to suppose that these two names were borne by the same king. There is of course proximity in the dates of these kings, but that in itself is no convincing proof. We have no other evidence showing that the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha extended their rule so far in North India. The rule of the Mānapura Rāshṭrakūṭas was indeed no bar to such an extension; for their capital was not identical with Mānpur, 12 miles from Mhow, but with Māṇ in the Satārā District. If the Rāshṭıakūṭas of Vidarbha had extended their kingdom as far as the Chambal in the north, their supremacy must have been acknowldged by petty princes ruling in the neighbouring region. This is not however seen to be the case. We have two other inscriptions of this period from that region viz. the Jhalrapatan inscription of Durgagaṇa,[1] dated V. 746 and the Kanasva inscription of Sivagaṇa,[2] dated V. 795. In neither of these is any Rāshṭrakūṭa king named. On the other hand, the latter inscription mentions the Maurya king Dhavala who may be identical with Dhavalappadeva mentioned with imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* etc. in the Dhod inscription of Dhanika.[3] That the Mauryas, not the Rāshṭrakūṭas, were then supreme in that region is also evident from the mention in the Navsari plates dated K. 490,[4] of the Maurya ruler among the kings vanquished by the Arabs in the seeond quarter of the eighth century A. D. It is not unlikely that this petty Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Indragaḍh also acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mauryas of Mewad, though as in some other inscriptions of that region[5] there is no specifice reference to it.

The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarvha were a feudatory family which rose after the disappearance of the Vākāṭakas. They owned at first the suzerainty of the Kalāchuris and like them used the Ābhīra (or Kalāchuri) era in their grants. After the overthrow of the Kalāchuris by Pulakeśin II, they transferred their allegaince to the Chālukyas of Badāmi, and, like them, began to date their records in the Śaka era. Only three genuine grants of these Rāshṭrakūṭas have been discovered so far. The earliest

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 180 f.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 55 f.
3. *P.R.A.S.*, W.C., 1905-06, p. 61 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 12
4. *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Arian Section, p, 230.
5. The Jhalrapatan inscription of Durgagana, for instance, makes no mention of any suzerain. The Kanaswa inscription mentions the Maurya king Dhavala only as a friend of the ruling king.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of them dated K. 322 (A.D. 573) was made by Svāmirāja[1] and the other two dated S. 615 and S. 631, by Nannarāja—Yuddhāsura.[2] All these have found in ancient Vidarbha. Their power does not therefore seem to have extended beyond the confines of Vidarbha. After the downfall of the Chālukyas of Badāmi, Vidarbha was occupied by the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas. Several records of the early kings Krishṇa and Govinda III have been found in the Marathi speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh. The earlier Rāshṭrakūṭas may have been allowed to rule over a small territory round Achalapura as feudatories of the Imperial family;[3] for there are occasional references to them till the first half of the tenth century A.D.

Like the Deshpandes and the Deshmukhs of modern times, the Rāshṭrakūṭas of ancient times were heads of territorial divisions. There must have been several families of this name flourishing in different parts of the country. They should not be considered as related to one another unless there is sufficient evidence to prove such a connection.

DATE OF THE IMĀDPUR IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS OF MAHĪPĀLA I

DR. D. C. SIRCAR, M. A., PH. D.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar has laid the students of the history of Eastern India under a debt of gratitude by publishing the facsimiles of the two Imādpur (Muzaffarpur District, Bihār) image inscriptions of the time of King Mahīpāla I (circa 988-1038 A.D.) of Bengal and Bihar, along with a note, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVI, pp. 247 ff. Hoernle quoted the date of both the inscriptions as the year 48 of the Pāla king's reign[4] and this reading has been recently endorsed by Dr. C.C. Das Gupta[5]. Dr. Majumdar is inclined to read the date as the year 148 which he refers to the Newārī or Nepāl era of 879-80 A.D. Thus, according to Dr. Majumdar, the date of the Imādpur inscriptions is equivalent to 1028 A. D. We propose to examine Dr. Majumdar's views in the following lines.

As regards the reading of the date portion, Dr. Majumdar says, "The three letters before the figure 48 were read by Hoernle as *samatt*[6] and

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 1 f.
2. The recently discovered Akola plates are dated S. 615 and the Multai plates, S. 631. The Tivarkhed plates dated S. 553 are spurious as stated before.
3. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XV, pp. 612 f. It is of course not unlikely that the Achalapura Rashtrakutas were a branch of the Imperial family.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 165; note 17.
5. *Proc. I.H.C.*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 245 ff.
6. This seems to be really a misprint for *samatta*.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Dr. Das Gupta as *samatta*. But the last of these three letters... cannot be read ..as *tt*... It is quite unlike any letter of the period of Mahīpāla so far known to us but closely resembles the figure (sic. symbol) for hundred given in Bühler's chart, Plate IX, Col. IX, the only difference being that the wedge-like sign instead of being attached to the top is placed at the bottom such as we find also in the Nepāl MSS (Buhler's chart, Cols. XXI, XXVI). I would therefore read the date as 148". I am sorry that I cannot agree with any of these statements.

In the first place, the *akshara* looks quite clearly like *nta* and Dr. Majumdar himself admits it when he says in a foot-note, "It no doubt looks like *n* with either an *u-mātrā* or *t* joined with it," although he concludes, "Even if we read it as *nta* or *nu* it gives no sense..*Samanta* followed by 48 is meaningless." We however find it difficult to agree with this view.

Before discussing the almost certain implication of *samanta* placed befor a number, it has to be pointed out that the same word can also be read as *samatta* as in the Pāla inscriptions the *akshara tta* was often written as *nta*. While discussing the palaeography of the Bāngaon (Bhāgalpur District, Bihār) plate of Vigrahapāla III (circa 1050-75 A. D.), grandson of Mahīpāla I, we have elsewhere observed, "The superscripts of the conjuncts *tt* and *nt* are often undistinguishable (*oāvarttāt* in line 25, *kīrttitān* in line 30, *paryanta* in line 32, etc.)"[1]

In our opinion, the word *samanta* or *samatta* in the Imādpur inscriptions stands for *samvat*. We know that *sam*, *samva*, *samvat* (sometimes spelt *samvat* or *sambat*), *samvachchha*, etc., were used as contractions of the expression *samvatsare*[2] When *samvat* gradually came to be stereotyped in the sense of a reckoning, the word was often used with case-endings, e.g., *samvatah*, *samvatā*, *samvati* and *samvatām*.[3] But, in many inscriptions, the word *samvat* is found in various corrupted forms such as *samvata*, *samvatu*, *samvatū*, *sammat*, *samat*, *samta*, etc.[4] In the medieval inscriptions of the Orissa region, *sambat* is almost always written as *samasta*,[5] while the Siddheswar inscription[6] of Ganga Narasimha IV has it as *samamthu*. Some epigraphs like the newly discovered Sanokhār (Bhāgalpur District, Bihār) inscription of Bāllalasena (circa 1158-79 A. D.) and a Puri temple inscription of Ganga Anangabhīma III (1211-83 A.D.) have *samata* for

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 48 ff.
2. See Bhandarkar's List Nos. 578, 1272, 1271, 1291, 1307, 1375, etc.
3. Ibid., Nos. 86, 262, 1004, etc.; *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, p. 8; etc.
4. Ibid., Nos. 357, 360, 366, 559, 1632, etc.; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXX, p. 187; *J.A.S.*, Letters, Vol. XIX, Plate II. I have examined some inscriptions in which the word is written as *smat*, etc.
5. See Bhandarkar, op. cit., Nos. 1133, 1769, ect.; and numerous instances in *S.I.I.*, Vols. V and VI.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp.105-08.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

samvat while another Puri temple inscription of the said Ganga king spells the word as *samvatta*. These three inscriptions are being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. There can thus be little doubt that *samanta* or *samatta* of the Imādpur inscriptions is a corrupt variant of *samvat*.

Secondly, the *akshara* has little resemblance with the symbol for 100 in Buhler's table, referred to by Dr. Majumdar. Buhler actually represents a variant of the looped *sa* type symbol indicating 100 as found in the Gupta inscriptions and the symbol in question does not appear to have been traced in records much later than the sixth century A.D. To find any resemblance between this early numerical symbol and the *akshara* looking like *nta* or *tta* in an inscription of the eleventh century cannot but be regarded as fanciful.

Thirdly, an important fact, ignored by Dr. Majumdar in this connection, is that, when 48 has been written in ordinary numerical figures, the hundred digit was expected to have been written in the figure for 1 and not the symbol for 100. The fact that, in the whole range of Indian epigraphy, we have very few dates, in which symbols and figures were employed at the same time through confusion, seems to go against Dr. Majumdar's reading of the date of the Imādpur inscriptions.

As regards the figure for 4 in the date of the Imādpur inscriptions, Dr. Majumdar says that it "is unlike that used in Bengal and Bihār during the Pāla and Sena periods but closely resembles the form used in Nepalese MSS". The statement is rather misleading. In the first place, down to the close of the twelfth century A. D. the same script (i.e., the Gauḍī or proto Bengali) was prevalent in Bengal, the major part of Bihār and Nepāl with little or no regional modification. This fact is quite clearly admitted by Cecil Bendall although he writes Bengal to indicate both Bengal and Bihār probably because the latter was then included in the Presidency of Bengal.[1] Secondly, there is definite evidence to show that the manuscripts found in Nepāl (i.e., the socalled "Nepalese MSS") were not all copied in Nepāl or by Nepalese copyists but that some of them at least were copied in Bihar and even in Bengal or by Bihārī and Bengali copyists.[2] In his Historical Introduction to H. P. Sastri's *Catalogue*, Bendall himself speaks of a large number of manuscripts in the Nepalese collection "which were written by Tirhuti scribes in their characteristic (Maisthili) script and dated

1. See *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1883, pp. xxii--xxvii. In his remarks on MS. Add. 1364, Bendall includes Magadha (South Bihar) in Bengal.
2. For the activities in Nepal of certain medieval authors stated to be either Maithili or Bengali, see *J.A.S.*, Letters, Vol. XVI, p. 269. Bendall's MS. Add. 1364 was copied by an inhabtiant of Magadha domiciled in Nepal. For other points in favour of this, see below.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

mostly in the common era, that of Lakshmaṇasena".[1] Thirdly, the figure for 4 as used in the Imādpur inscriptions which exhibits a slighty earlier stage of development than its modern Bengali and Devanāgarī forms is found in the Maithilī script [2] and its occurrence in the medieval inscriptions from North Bihār has to be regarded as quite normal. Fourthly, the Devanāgarī form of the same numeral, which stands at a little later stage of development than the form found in the Imādpur inscriptions, is actually found in such medieval Bihār epigraphs as the Soṇe East Bank plate (line 28) of V.S. 1254 (1197 A.D.)[3] and the Bihārsharif stone inscription of V.S. 1458 (1400 A.D.)[4]. There is thus little doubt that the form of 4 found in the Imādpur inscriptions was prevelent in Bihar in the age of the Pālas who appear to have continued to rule over parts of Bihār till the beginning of the thirteenth century.[5]

Dr. Majumdar refers the year 148, the date of the Imādpur inscriptions as read by him, to the Nepāl era of 879-80 A. D. To show that the use of the Nepāl era in these inscriptions, found in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihār, is nothing abnormal, he quotes the views of Sylvain Lévi as expressed in the *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, and cites what he thinks to be evidence supplied by certain manuscripts. In our opinion, however, both the "evidences", on which he has relied, are utterly inconclusive.

Lévi (as quoted by Dr. Majumdar) says, "It is not impossible that the Pāla dynasty had imposed at this time (beginning of the 11th century) at least a nominal suzerainty over Nepāl. This satisfactorily explains the presence, in the Nepalese collection, of manuscripts copied during the reign of the Pālas, specially Mahīpāla and Nayapāla." But the existence in Nepāl (accepting for the moment that the manuscripts were collected from Nepāl alone and not from the adjoining land of Bihār) of manuscripts, copied in the dominions and during the reigns of the Pāla kings, scarcely proves Pāla occupation of Nepāl (for which, by the way, there is not even an iota of proof) just as the discovery of Maithilī manuscripts in Tibet[6] does not prove Maithilī occupation of that country. There is definite evidence to show that books copied outside Nepāl often found their way into that country. By way of illustration, reference may be made to the celebrated "Nepalese Manuscript" of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, copied in Tīrabhuktī (North-Bihār) in Samvat 1076 (1019 A.D.) during the reign of Gāngeyadeva,

1. *Catalogue of Palmleaf and Selected Paper MSS in the Darbur Library, Nepal, 1905*, p.18; Cf. Bendall, op. cit., p.xxvi.
2. See Ojha, *Prachinalipimala*, Plate LXXVIII, section III
3. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, Plate facing p. 228
4. See *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XXVIII, Plate facing p. 440
5. Cf. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXX, pp.123--45.
6. Cf. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 31; J. Mishra, *A History of the Maithili Literature*, Vol. I, p. 69.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

apparantly the Kalāchuri king of that name[1]. The fact that the manuscripts in question do not bear dates in the Nepāl era according to the prevalent custom in Nepāl shows that they were copied outside that country. A much more satisfactory explanation of the existence in Nepāl of manuscripts copied in the Pāla dominions is apparently the widely held and justifiable view that, during the early days of Muslim occupation of Eastern India, many scholars, afraid of Turkish persecution, fled to the Nepāl region together with the books in their family libraries[2].

In the same connection Dr. Majumdar also speaks of the evidence of manuscripts written in Newārī (the script of Nepāl) but referring to "Indian" Kings in their colophons and those written in an "Indian" script but bearing dates in the Nepāl era, and refers to the following manuscripts:

(1) the *Kubjikāmata* written in the Newārī script but during the reign of Rāmapāla;

(2) the *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* written in Newārī Rañjā but dedicated by Vāsantīdevī, queen of the Gānaḍavāla king Govindachandra of the U. P.;

(3) the *Padmanābhasamgraha* written in Bengali but dated in the Nepāl era;

(4) the *Nāgānanda* written in Bengali but dated in the Nepāl era.

Unfortunately the data appear to us absolutely unreliable. In the first place, in view of the close resemblance among the early medieval scripts of Bengal, East and North Bihār and Nepāl, the description of the alphabet of Nos. 1, 3 and 4 cannot but be regarded as suspicious. I have doubts that these manuscripts were actually copied in North Bihār[3]. That No. 1 does not bear the date in the Nepāl era seems to show that it was copied outside Nepāl. Secondly, supposing that the descriptions are correct and exhibit accurate palaeographical knowledge of the examiners of the manuscripts in question, it is impossible to exclude the possibility of the employment of the professional copyists of one area in an adjoining region. Nos. 3 and 4 said to be written in Bengali (Maithilī?) characters but dated in the Nepāl era, go very clearly in support of this view. In the Historical Introduction to Sastri's Catalogue referred to above, Ben-

1. Cf. *J. A. S.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 27. Several manuscripts copied during the reign of Govindapala whose rule was confined to parts of South Bihar according to Dr. Majumdar himself, were found in the Nepalese collection (Cf. Bendall's MS. Add. 1699, 1-3). These are not dated in the Nepal era according to Nepalese practice. No. 1261 (tha) of Sastri's Catalogue was copied in Navadvipa in Bengal.
2. Wright, *Nepal*, p. 72; Bendall, *Catalogue*, 1883, p. xxii; R. D. Banerji, Bangalar Itihasa, Vol. I (2nd ed.), p. 354.
3. Nos. 92, 1076 (na and na), etc., of Sastri's Catalogue are stated to be written in Bengali characters but dated in the La.Sam, which is characteristic of Mithila (North Bihar).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

dall says, "There would seem to have been a certain degree of literary intercourse between Nepāl and Tirhut (North Bihār) the frontier state on the direct route to the plains. Accordingly a large number of the MSS of this Catalogue are written by Tirhuti scribes....we find a case where a MS is copied by a Tirhuti scribe domiciled in Nepāl. Another..case of intercourse in the opposite direction, where a Nepalese scribe was living in Tirhut". Thirdly, No. 2 hardly proves anything at all as Vāsantī-devī might have been a princess of Nepāl or she might have engaged a Nepalese copyist for the copying of a sacred work for dedication.

"VAISṆAVITS GLEANINGS FROM THE MEDIAEVAL INSCRIPTIONS OF MĀRWĀR"

R. C. AGRAWALA, M. A.

Epigraphic references to visṇu worship in Rājasthān can be traced back to very early times. The Ghosūṇḍī[1] Stone Inscription of king Sarvataat bears testimony to the worship of Samkarsaṇa—Vāsudeva in the early centuries before the birth of Christ[2]. It is regretted that no inscription belonging to Gupta or Pre-Gupta period has seen the light of the day in the whole of Mārwār[3]. Only future discoveries are awaited in this connection. The famous red stone pillars (about 12-14 feet high) from Maṇḍor[4] depict various scenes (from the life of Krisṇa) carved in a very beautiful manner. In the middle of one of these pillars are remnants of an altogether blurred inscriptions which perhaps belonged to the Gupta period.[5]

It is only from seventh century A.D. onward that we begin to find epigraphic references to Visṇu worship in this region. The people had

ABBREVIATIONS USED

E.I. = Epigraphia Indica.
A.S.I.A.R. = Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
PRASWC. = Progress Report of Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.
V.S. = Vikrama Samvat

1. Near Nagari, Distt. Chittaurgadh.
2. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, 1942, I, Calcutta, pp. 91-2) the script of this epigraph belongs to the first half of first century B. C. Cf. J. N. Banerjee *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIII, 1945, p. 55.
3. Modern Jodhpur Division.
4. Ancient capital of Marwar. It was then called Mandavyapura. The place is at a distance of about 5 miles from Jodhpur.
5. This view is hazarded because of clear traces of triangles on top of letters which are now completely blurred. The pillars are displayed in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a very good idea of various forms and incarnations of Visṇu. A stone inscription, (dated *V.S.* 742 = 686 A.D.) carved in the old step-well near the Aṣṭamātrikās[1] of Maṇḍor, refers to *Vāmana* incarnation of Visṇu:—*avihata cakra prasaro vikramyā-krānta sakala-Bali-rājyo dūra nirākrita narakassa jayati purusottama*[2]. The well known Jodhpur inscription[3] of Pratihāra Bāūka is dated V.S. 894 and begins with a dedicatory verse in the praise of Visṇu, also styled as Hrisīkeśa[4]:—*om namo visṇave yasmin viśanti bhūtāni yatassarga sthitimate, sa va pāyāddhrisīkeśo nirguṇassa-guṇaśca yah* etc. The discovery of certain inscribed fragementary stone pieces[5] from the ancient fort of Maṇḍor have also thrown a considerable light on the problem. The following information can be gleaned from the above records:—

(1) Śesa (on which Visṇu sleeps during his intervals of creation) and *śārnga* (the bow of Visṇu) are referred to in an epigraph now kept in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur (*ASIAR*, 1909-10, p. 100).

(2) *Keśava* and *Vāsudeva* as different titles of Visṇu (11.4-5):—*Om namo bhagawate vāsudevāya——havanam kritvā sādhurvvāsudeva* (sya)——*——sadābhaktaśca keśave kārāpitā.*

(3) Praise of Visṇu, sport with the *gopis* of Gokula[6] and various incarnations such as *Vāmana*, *Varāha* and *Narasimha:—gopī girau gokule śrutvā rādhikayā svabhūsaṇavidhih śaureh Kritah pāṇināngaṇe——rūpam hare pātu vah dramstrvāgrogram graheṇa grasitumiva mahīmuda——simghamvapur——*etc.

That the ancient temple at Maṇḍor was consecrated to Visṇu and continued to remain in possession of the Vaisṇavites is evident from a still later inscription belonging to the 12th century A.D. This epigraph refers to Nārāyaṇa and his consort Laksmī :—(*Om namo*) *nārāyanāya—yuktah pravitata vanamālā—ratnākaro laksmīsameta* (*ASIAR*, 1909-10, p. 102). It was perhaps after the 12th century A.D. that the Śaivites became powerful in the region round about Maṇḍore (*ibid* p. 100).

The Buchkalā inscription (dated *V.S.* 872 = 816 A. D.) refers to some *parameśwara* to whom the temple was originally dedicated. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar presents very interesting interpretation of the above word

1. Cf. my article (on these images) published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December 1953, pp. 393-5.
2. *Administrative Report of the Archaeological Department and Sumer Public Library*, Jodhpur Vol. VIII, 1935, p. 5 Appendix A.
3. *E. I.* XVII, article 12, 11, 1-2; *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 4ff.
4. Consult *PRASWC*, 1907, pp 25-6 for a standing image (of Visnu in this form) from Sirohi district of Rajasthan.
5. Belonging to 8th and 9th centuries A. D. Some of them have been preserved in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.
6. A place near Mathura.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

parameśwara when he says (*E.I.*, IX, p. 199):—"*Parameśwara* is usually taken to be identical with Śiva but here it does not agree with the sculptural details of the temple. On the dedicatory block of the shrine door and the principal niche at the back, the image has four hands doubtless representing the god Visṇu as holding mace, discus, conch distinctly seen in the hands. Other images too carved on inner and outer walls of the temple show that it was a Vaisṇavite structure. The word *parameśwara* must be taken in its ordinary sense". The use of the above phrase in the Mārwār epigraph is an interesting information for the students of ancient Indian art and literature. The Daulatpur plate of Bhojadeva I too refers to *Vaisṇava* gleanings (*E.I.*, V, pp. 208 ff).

A mediaeval epigraph[1] (dated *V.S.* 1320=1264 A.D.) from Bhinmālā[2] calls Visṇu by the names of *anantaswarūpa hari* and *cakrapāṇi*. Here Visṇu figures along with other principal deities of the Hindu pantheon:—*Om namo vighna-rājyāya, namo devāya bhāsvate, namo ananta-swarūpaharaye cakrapāṇaye, namah somāya namah parama-brahmaṇe*. The Sevāḍī copper plates of Chāhamāna ruler Ratna Pāla refer to the protective force of god Visṇu (*E.I.*, IX, p, 310) when it states:—*jagamahīyāmsam pāpapaṭala pāṭana paṭīyāsa janma jarā-maraṇa-raksaṇa-prabha-Visṇum pūjayitvā*.

The Nāḍol plates of Rājaputra Kīrtipāla (*E.I.*, IX, pp. 67-8) are dated in V.S. 1218 and bear testimony to harmonious relations existing between the members of the Jaina community and the adherers of the Brahmanic faith. The epigraph invokes blessings of various gods as Brahmā, Śrīdhara (ie. Visṇu) and Śankara (ie. Śiva). All these deities, said to have been always free from passion, are famous in the world as *Jinas:—Om svasti śriyai bhavantu vo devā brahma-śrīdhara-śankarāh sadā vīrāgavanto ye jinajagati viśrutāh*. The use of *Jina* as an epithet for each of the above principal deities of Hindu patheon clearly proves that both the sects were having very good relations with each other in those times.

The Jodhpur inscription of Rūpādevī, dated *V.S.* 1340 = (1248 A. D.), presents a vivid description of the *Govardhaṇa-dhārana līlā* (ie. lifting of mount *Goverdhana*) of Lord Krisṇa[3]:—*Prārambhe hasitam bhujabhramakritai-rāndolanairvismitam. Mlānam bāhu latopapīḍanabhiyā prollāsane bhūbhritah. Dattāh krisṇakarābjaśāyini nage śreyānsi pusṇantu vo. Gopibhirbhujavalliknkṇa-kaaṇatkārottarāstālikāh*.

In an inscription (outside the Laksmī-Nārāyaṇa temple at Nānā) dated V. S. 1314, reference is made to the annual gift of 4 *drammas* for

1. Publshed in the *Gazetteer of Bombay Province*, I, Pt. I, p. 477.
2. Ancient Srimala or Bhillamala. It is about 120 miles from Jodhpur.
3. *E. I., IV*, p. 313. Krasna has been regarded as one of the important incarnations of Visnu.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chakraswāmī deva. This led Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*PRASWC*, 1908, p. 49) to conjecture that "*Chakraswāmī* possibly refers to *Laksmī Nārāyaṇa*" here.

This is in nutshell a bird's eye-view of the Vaiṣṇavite trends as depicted in some of the inscriptions discovered in Mārwār.

A NOTE ON 'SAHAJA-SUHRT' (PRABODHACANDRODAYAM)[1]

SHRI ŚISIR KUMAR MITRA

Prabodhacandrodayam, which, as is well-known, is an allegorical drama, written by Śrī Krsṇa Miśra depicting the conflict in human mind between Viveka (conscience) and Mahāmoha (delusion), was enacted in the presence of the Candella ruler Kīrtivarman. of whom we have records of the years 1075,[2] 1090[3] & 1098 A.D.[4] In its introductory portion certain facts are mentioned throwing light on the political condition of the country. Here the Sūtradhāra announces[5] that the play was ordered by Śrī Gopāla, described as a natural friend (sahaja-suhrt) of the Candella king Kīrtivarman. It is also stated in this connection that Gopāla acted as the saviour of the Candella kingdom in a time of great crisis and liberated it from the clutches of the Cedi prince Laksmīkarṇa.[6] The precise meaning of the epithet 'sahaja-suhrt' used in this context should be investigated to ascertain the nature of relationship of Gopāla with the Candella king Kīrtivarman as well as his status in the Candella court.

The available Candella records indicate that their fortune must have been at a low ebb before the accession of Kīrtivarman due to the military successes of Kalācuri Laksmīkarṇa. Bilhaṇa, the court-poet of Cālukya Someśvara I (1044-68) A.D. seems to have referred to this eclipse of the Candella power in his 'Vikramānkadeva-carita', wherein Karṇa has been described as 'kālah Kālañjara-giripater-yah',[7] i.e. 'death to the lords of the Kālañjara mountain'. The eloquence of the Candella records[8]

1. Nirnaya Sagar Press Edn. Bombay 1924.
2. Darbat Santinatha Image Insc. of V. S. 1132. (1075 A. D.). The name of the king, which was earlier read as Kirttidhara by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, has been recently read as Kirttivarman by Dr. D. C. Sircar in Ind. Hist. Qly. Vol. XXX. Pp. 183-85.
3. noticed by Dr. Chakravarti in An. Rep. A.S.I. 1936-7. P. 93.
4. Indian Antiquary. Vol. XVIII. Pp. 237-9.
5. I. 3.(Pp. 10-12).
6. I. 9. (Pp. 21-22.)
7. Buhler's Edn. XVIII. 93.
8. Fragmentary Mahoba Insc. (Epi. Ind. Vol. I., P. 217, V. 26); Ajaygadh Rock Insc. or Viravarman (E. I Vol. I, Pp 327 & 329, V. 3); Frag. Kalanjar Insc. (J: A. S. B. Vol. XVII. 1848 P. 317).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in describing the restoration of the Candella power by Kīrtivarman testifies to the importance attached to the victory of the Candella king over the Cedis.

The episode has also been related in the prologue of the drama, Prabodhacandrodaya. One cannot however fail to notice a serious discrepancy which exists between the account furnished by epigraphic sources and the one contained in the drama. In the former the credit for defeating the Cedi ruler, Karṇa, has been given to Kīrtivarman, but in the drama both the Sūtradhāra[1] and the Naṭṭī[2] state that it was Śrī Gopāla, who inflicted a crushing defeat on Laksmīkarṇa and re-installed the Candella prince Kīrtivarman on the throne. As the play was staged before Kīrtivarman, the reigning monarch, it may be presumed, as has been done by Dr. H. C. Ray,[3] that the story given in drama could not have offended the king as it was true.

From the drama it appears that Śrī Gopāla was held in high esteem at the court of Kīrtivarman, particularly by the feudatory princes. The Sūtradhāra says, "Ādiṣṭo'smi sakala-sāmantacakra-cūḍāmaṇi-marīci-mañjarī-nirājita caraṇa-kamalena.....:.Śrīmatā Gopālena"[4]. This means that he was ordered to stage the drama by Śrī Gopāla on whose lotus-like feet were reflected the crest-jewels of the circle of the feudatory princes.

This passage is very important. But it is found that it has not been correctly interpreted by some scholars. They have relied upon this passage in inferring that Gopāla served as the Chief Sāmanta or feudatory under Kīrtivarman. The relevant portion of the text which I have quoted does not lend any support to this view, which is based on 'sakala-sāmantacakra cūḍāmaṇī' being taken as an epithet of Gopāla[5]. But it is not so, as it is a part of the compound, which includes 'marīci-mañjarī-nirājita-caraṇa-kamalena' to indicate the complete epithet of Gopāla. It would be a mere guess if Gopāla is taken as a chief sāmanta. There is no definite proof in support of this view afforded by the passage quoted. It is noteworthy that the commentator Nāṇḍillagopa-prabhū in explaining 'śrīmatā Gopālena' applies the designation 'rājan' to him,—"Śrīmatā mahānubhāvena Gopālena rājñā".[6] Hultzsch,[7] and following him

1. I. 6 & 9 Pp. 19, 21-22.

2. I. 6. "..Krnnasensaaram nimmahia Mahumahaneneva khirasamuddam-asadida samaravijaalacchi/" (Sanskrit rendering—'Karna-sena-sagaram nirmathya Madhumathaneneva Ksirasamudramasadita samara-vijayalaksmih/).

3. Dynastic History of Northern India. Vol. II. P. 697, f. n. 3.

4. I. 3.

5. D.H.N.I. Vol. II., P. 695.

6. P. 12. f. n.

7. E. I, Vol. I., P. 220.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

V. Smith,[1] took Gopāla to be a Brāhman General of Kīrtivarman. It is not known why Hultzsch took him to belong to the Brāhman caste.

We may next refer to the information supplied by the drama with regard to Gopāla's activities. He was the main architect of the 'digvijaya' of the ruler Kīrtivarmana. With sword as his only friend (asilatā-mātra-mitrena)[2], Gopāla extirpated the enemies not sparing even the women, the aged, and the children (yasya strī-bāla-vrddh-āvadhi nidhanavidhau nirdayo viśruto' sau).[3] With great passion he desired, as sūtradhāra says, to re-establish the sovereigns of the race of the Moon, dethroned by the lord of the Cedis, who has been compared to Rudra, the fire of destruction of all other royal families (yatah sakala-bhūpāla-kula-pralaya-kālāgni-Rudreṇa Cedipatinā samunmūlitam Candrānvaya-pārthivānām prthivyām-ādhipatyam sthirīkartum ayamasya samrambhaṇ)[4]. Gopāla having overcome Karṇa caused the rise of the illustrious Kīrtivarmana, just as conscience (viveka) overcoming delusion (moha) gives rise to knowledge.—"Vivekeneva nirjitya Karṇam-mohamivorjitam/ Śrī Kīrtivarma-nrpater bodhasyevodayah krtah//9." Gopāla having acted as the saviour of the Candella sovereignty, and having reinstalled Kīrtivarmana there (sāmrājye Kīrtivarma-narapati-tilako yena bhūyobhyaseci//4.), is regarded by the author to be as great as Viṣṇu, represented in the Man-lion (Nrsimha), the primeval Boar (mahā-varāha) and Paraśurāma incarnations.

These references taken together indicate that Gopāla must have shown skill as a military leader or a general in organising the campaigns of Kīrtivarman and winning victories for him. This is particularly supported by the passage in which Gopāla's part in Kīrtivarmana's digvijaya is definitely mentioned. "Yathā khalvasya sahaja-suhrdo rājñah Śrī Kīrtivarma-devasya digvijaya-vyāpār-āntarita parabrahmānanda-rasair-asmābhih samunmīlita-vividha-visaya-rasāsvāda-dūsitā ivātivāhitā divasāh"[5] As this natural friend of king Kīrtivarman was engaged in the 'digvijaya-vyāpāra' of the king, the enjoyment of the supreme bliss was kept suspended, and the days were vitiated with various kinds of material pleasures.[6] Thus his important role in the victorious expeditions of the king is clearly indicated in the passage.

Gopala's services to the Candellas as Kīrtivarmana's sahaja-suhrt cannot be over-estimated. We do not gain very much by simply taking this ex-

1. Ind. Ant. 1908. Vol. XVIII., P. 143.
2. I. 4. P. 15.
3. I. 7. P. 20.
4. I. 6. P. 19.
5. I. 5. P. 12.
6. The inference that Gopala himself became 'visaya rasasvada dusita' as found in D. H. N. I. Vol. II., P. 696 is evidently unacceptable.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

pression to mean a natural friend. It may be pointed out that the term 'sahaja-suhrt' or 'sahaja-mitra' has some special significance in Hindu political philosophy. Kauṭilya applies the expression to denote the territory beyond that of the immediate neighbour, the latter called an enemy (ari). "Bhūmyekāntaram prakrti-mitram mātāpitr-sambandham sahajam, dhana-jīvita-hetor-āśritam krtrima-mitram". (Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra; Maṇḍala-yoṇih sasṭhamādhikaraṇam, Śamavyā-yāmikam prakaraṇam.). "He, whose friendship is derived from father and grandfather, and who is situated close to the territory of the immediate enemy of the conqueror, is a natural friend; while he, whose friendship is courted for self-maintenance, is an acquired friend." (Shamasastry's Edn. P. 290). Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstrī in commenting on this expression observes that, "svabhūmyekavyavahitam prakriti-mitram ekam sahaja-mitram",[1] i.e., one kind of sahaja-mitra is, as already stated, the friendly state situated beyond the immediate neighbour-state. But there is apparent difficutly in accepting Gopāla as an ally of the sahaja-mitra-type in the absence of any royal titles in the text, which neither assigns to him any specified territory.

The other type of sahaja-mitra, mentioned by Kauṭilya, as explained by Mm. Śāstrī, is represented by one's cousins, sons of maternal uncles and paternal aunts. ('Mātulapaitṛsvaseyādirūpam aparam sahaja-mitram').[2] In the Śiśupāla-vadha kāvya[3] also a similar expression is used to explain the relationship between Śrī Krsṇa and Śiśupāla.

In the circumstances it may not be wrong to presume that the expression 'sahaja-suhrt', as used int the Prabodhacandrodaya nāṭaka, bears the meaning given to it by Kauṭilya, as commented on by Mm. G. Śāstrī. In that case Gopāla may be taken to have been a cousin of king Kīrtivarman. It was Gopāla who organised the armies of the sāmanta chiefs and defeated the Cedi prince, Karṇa, and it was he who was mainly instrumental in reviving the Candella power. This was admitted by king Kīrtivarman in permitting the drama to be staged in his own presence, and it is further proved by the interest he took in the performance of it, as mentioned by sūtradhāra in the passage:—"Rājñah Śrī Kīrtivarmaṇah purastād abhinetavyam bhavatā/ Asticāsya bhūpateh saparisad-astadavalokena kutūhalam-iti/".[4] i.e., The drama is to be enacted before the king Krītivarmana, who expressed particular curiosity to witness the show along with his courtiers.

1. Kautiliya Arthasastra. Ganapati Sastri's Edn. P. 233.
2. Ibid.
3. Canto II. V. 36-37. Mallinatha's commentary— 'saha jatah sahajah/ Ekasariravayavatvat tatra sahajam mitram matrsvase-pitrsvaseyadi
4. I. 4., Pp. 13-14.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

There is therefore no real discrepancy between the literary and inscriptional accounts, as both mention the restoration of the Candella power to have taken place during Kīrtivarmana's time. The digvijaya referred to by Śrī Krshṇa-Miśra is also attributed by him to Kīrtivarman. Krshṇa Miśra's drama only furnishes some necessary details about the leadership in the battle which resulted in the Candella victory. The leadership was in the hand of Gopāla, Kīrtivarmana' sahaja-suhrt or cousin, who must have also made himself conspicuous by organising a confederacy of the sāmantas of the Candella state.

A NOTE ON VRATAS

S. R. Das

Vrata, a vowed observance, a religious act of devotion and austerity, is performed all over India in different forms. A detailed description of the *Vratas* is to be found in the Purāṇas and the *Smriti* works of early medieval period such as *Chaturvargachintāmani*, *Vratakālpadruma*, *Vratakālaviveka* and *Vratatattva*. In principle and in detail these socio-religious and socio-legal texts mainly adhere to the stand taken up by the Purāṇas from which they derive the bulk of their materials. Accordingly references have been made to the purāiṇc *Vratas* in order to find out the peculiar socio-religious conditions which led the brāhmaṇas to popularise the *Vrata* observances amongst all sections of the people, particularly, women who are not eligible otherwise to perform religious rites independently. But these purāṇic *Vratas* are to be mostly observed by women who, from remote antiquity, have been performing all sorts of folk religious rites and practices which find no sanction in the hieratic brahmanical literature. The writers of the Purāṇas not only invented many new *Vrata* rites but even went to the extent of absorbing many non-brahmanical *Vrata*-rites by changing their names or the rituals for their material benefits. This was necessitated by the changed conditions of the period in which the Purāṇas and the *Smriti* works were written and when the brāhmaṇas, most probably, had to struggle hard even for their bare existence. This is evident from the description of the *Vrata*-rites.

THE EARLY SURSEN DYNASTY OR THE EARLY PRATIHĀRS

Durga Prasad Sharma, M.A., B. Ed.

The country in the immediate vicinity of Mathurā was known as Sursen janapad in ancient age, but this was known for the first time when Pt. Bhagwan Lal Indra published the text of the chaurāsī-Khamba mosque ins-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

cription of kama (Bharatpur district in Rājasthān)[1] that this tract was ruled by a dynasty which designated itself as Sursena Vaṁś,[2] between the 6th and the 8th century. Later on when the chitralekhā temple inscription[3] was carefully studied, it also proved to be a record of the same dynasty,[4] thus extending its period up to the 10th century. Editors of these records tried to identify them with the Yādav Rājput family of Karili, but failing, they branded it as another Yādav family which ruled this tract. This is to be regreted that although the first of these records throws a welcome light on one of the dark periods of Indian History, its evidence has not been taken into consideration, by the learned authors of the Classical Age,[5] which deals especially with this period. Herein I propose to discuss the history of this dynasty as revealed by the inscriptions and will try to ascertain its identification from amongst the other contemporary ruling families.

The geneology supplied by the Chaurāsi Khamba mosque inscription of Kaman, which is the earlier of the two, begins with Phakka. After him come in succession Kulbhat, Ajit, Durgbhat, Durg Daman, Deva Rajandvatsna Dama, thus bringing the tail up to the last quarter of the 8th century, as the paleography of the record suggests. The chitra Lekhā inscription from Bayānā, gives a comparatively irregular geneology extending from the Paurāṇic age to the 10th century A.D. As its span of notices is lengthy, this geneology is supplied in three instalments, thus leaving a wide gap in between them the names supplied by this record for the paurāṇic age are Agni, Chandra, Purūravas, Nahusha and the enemy of Kans, thus suggesting that the family belonged to the same stock to which Krishṇa belonged. Phakka is said to be the progenitor of the dynasty in historical times. The last part of the geneology supplies four names, Vappuk,[6] Rajyika, his son, and Chitralekhā, the daughter of the third. She was married to Mangla Rāj[7] and was the mother of Indra Rāj, Lakshman Rāj and Chamund Rāj, who prospered in 1012 A.D. The name of Mahīpāl deva is also mentioned, who can be identified with the imperial Pratihār ruler, who prospered at this time. Another inscription from Kamam,[8] which has some dates in the so called Harsha era

1. Indian Ant. Vol. X, P. 34, A.S.I. Vol. XX, pp 54-60
2. Kama inscription line 3-4
3. Ep. Indica. Vol. XX I I.
4. Chitra Lekha Inscription Line 5.
5. Hist. and cult. of Indian People, Vol. III, 'the Classical Age', 1954 A.D.
6. The fact that Vappuka was not the immediate successor of Phakka is clearly stated in the 8th of this inscription.
7. This Mangal Raj has been identified with his namesake of the Kachhapghats of Gwaliar, who prospered in the last quarter of the 11th century. (D.H.N.I. Chap.), but the dates of both the records make it difficult to accept. It seems he belonged to some other family.
8. Ep. In. Vol. XXIV, No. 45. pp. 329-336

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and belongs to this period has the names of Kakkuka Bhaṭṭa and Bhoj. This Bhoj seems to be the imperial Pratihār ruler. It does not mention the Sursen dynasty.

Now this Sursen dynasty, when compared with the geneolgy of the Yadubansi king of bayānā and Karauli,[1] clearly appears to be quite different from the latter, hence there is no question of branding it as yadubansi. Their another probable identfication can be with the Nikumbhas to whom is attributed the foundation of many old forts and cities in Alwar and Northern Jaipur.[2] One branch of this dynasty also ruled in Khāndes in the 12th and the 13th century A.D.[3] The name Nikumbh occurs in the chitralekhā inscription[4] but it does not conclusively say that it was another name for the Sursenas. The southern Nikambhas trace their origin from Nikambha, a prodecessor of Rām,[5] while the Mewati Nikumbhas, who have now migrated to U. P. state that they are the descendents of Sursenas son of Shatrughna, the younger brother of Rām.[6] But the two inscriptions of the Sursenas do not hold this view. According to them they are the decendents of Lunar race, represented by purūrava, Nahusha, shur and Krishṇa. It may be said that this kind of difference is often seen in the old records of some other families too.[7] As the geneologies supplied by the Nikumbhas do not tally with the names given in the inscriptions, this identification too, does not carry us too far in our present state of knowledge.

The names and dates of the Kama inscriptions also oblige us, to seek the identification from another quarter. According to the editor of the chaurāsi khamba temple inscription, on paleographic ground the date of Vatsadaman, in whose times, it was engraved, must be 750 A.D.—775 A.D.[8] According to Jain author at the time of his completing the work Hari Vaṁśa, there ruled a king in the western (India), whose name was Vatsa.[9] Now this Vatsa has been identified, with Vatsa Rāj of the

1. A.S.I. Vol. XX, pp. 5-8
2. A.S.I. Vol. XX, p. 10; Tod—Annals and Antiquities of Raj. Vol. I, p. 107
3. Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 41; J.R.A.S. New Series, Vol. I, P. 417
4. संग्रामं भावयान्ति प्रति नियत वधं भीपमां ये निकुंभा IIV. 18)
5. Ind. Ant. Vol. VII, p. 41; J.R.A.S. New Series, Vol. I., p. 417
6. Expelled by the Khanjadas of Mewat in the 15th century; A.S.I. Vol. XX; Alwar Rajya ka Itihas by Pt. Pinaki Lal of Alwar.
7. Pratihars, Chauhans and Rashtrakutas
8. Ind. Ant. Vol. X, p. 34
9. Some authors hold that अवन्ति was the capital of Vatsa (Rastrakuts and their time by A.S. Altekar page 55.), others take अवन्ति to be the name of a King who ruled in the East. (राजपूतों का प्रारंभिक इतिहास by चिन्तामणि विनायक p. 158 & 223.). This अवन्ति was perhaps the ruler mentioned in the Ranod inscriptions (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. pp 351). He was perhaps a Chalukya and ruled in

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Pratihār lineage. The Gwāliar inscription of Bhoj[1] informs us that Vatsa Rāj was a son of Deva Rāj, who was a nephew of Nagbhat, the founder of the Pratihār line. Now not only Vatsadaman of the Śūrsen dynasty is contemporary to Vatsa Rāj of the Pratihār lineage, their fathers also bore the same name Deva Rāj. Thus there arise a question, as to whether both these records represent the same dynasty. Technically there seems to be no difficulty, as Nagbhat and Kakkuka who are represented as the predecessors of Deva Rāj in the Gwāliar inscription, were repcetively uncle and brother of Deva Rāj and therefore can be easily excluded from the main line. Moreover another Kaman Inscription, which has several dates in the so called Harshotra, mentions a Kakkuka bhat and his family who built a temple at Kāmyakban. This Kakkukabhat can be identified with Kakkuka of the Gwāliar inscription of Bhoj,[2] thus completing the missing link between the Śūrsen dynasty and the early Pratihārs. If this identification is held valid, the entensive territories of Durga Daman or his successor as mentioned in the Kaman chaurāsi khamba inscription, can be easily explained. It may also be that some Lacunnas[3] which occur in between the names of Deva Rāj and Durga Daman, might have contained the names of Nagbhat and Kakkuka. The only difficulty in accepting this identification is that the Śūrsen dynasty is said to be of the Lunar race while the Pratihār records make them of the solar race.

But this can be passed over with a statement that such difference is common in the early records of several families. Now Pratihārs of the Gwāliar inscription of Bhoj are usually identified with their namesakes of the Ghatiyala (Maṇḍor) inscriptions,[4] therefore we regard the early Pratihār identical to the Śūrsen dynasty, their early members should also be similar, but this is not the case. Therefore we are led to opine that the Maṇḍor branch of the Pratihārs was quite different from the Śūrsen dynasty. If at all, the two branches had a common origin, it was in the beginning of the Maṇḍor list.[5] In that case Phakka of the Śūrsens dynasty, must represent Kakka, a son of Marishchandra, as both of these

Jubbalpur district (I. H. Vol. XXVI. No. I. p). The translation of the last two lines of the famous verse can be thus, "In the East ruled the king Avanti, while the West was ruled by Vatsa Raj. the leader of the Shaurya confideracy, the brave Varah who had gained a victory." In this sense शौर्य can be another form of शूरसेन and वराह the correct form of Baora mentioned by Al. Masud

1. A.S.I. (1903-4) pp.—280.

2. Ep. Ind. Vol XXIV. pp 329-336, the editor of the records also mentions this identification.

3. In fact whole of the record is badly mutilated.

4. J. R. A. S. 1895, pp 513 ff; Ep. I. pp.. 277ff.

5. Harichandra is said to have four sons, Bhogbhat, Kakka, Rajila and Dadda. Fit to hold the four quarters of the earth.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

words are similar in appearance and their lines take almost equal number of generations to reach the beginning of 10th century.[1] If this hypotheses be correct, the Śūrsen dynasty is the other name of the imperial dynasty, and represents the line of one of the sons of Harischandra of the Ghatyala inscription.

We have already seen that both the records make Phakka the founder of the dynasty in the historical period. In Kaman C. K. K. inscription his rise from Śūrsen dynasty has been compared to the luminary sun rising from the eastern horizon.[2] The entire middle portion of the chitralekhā inscription is composed of him.[3] His prowess in war must have been great, for he is said to be powerful enough to face Brahmā, Indra, Upendra, Chandra, Kuber and Yama. He compelled the goddess of sovereignity to reside permanently into his family. He did also invade some enemy, the name and place of whom is robbed off from the record by the cruel hands of time. The name of his consert was Deyikā Devī. This much is the information we get about Phakka from both the records.

The date of Phakka according to Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indra, reckoning back twenty five years for each generation, from the paleographic date of the document is 600-625 A.D.[4] If this Phakka is identical to Kakka s/o Harichandra of the Mandor branch of Pratihārs, his date can be recorded as 575 A.D.[5] or 641 A.D.[6]. We know from other sources that during the period 575-641, A.D. the Vardhan family of Thāneshwar was in its hey day. Hence it would be more reasonable to place the assumption of sovereignity, by Phakka after the death of Harshavardhan. Thus the most probable date of the beginning of the era of Phakka must range between 647-650 A.D. It is quite possible that the three commanders mentioned in connection with his attack on them, were engaged in a war of succession after the death of Harsha, and Phakka having come out successful in the conflict compelled the Goddess of sovereignty to reside into his family.

About the immediate successors of Phakka, the chitralekhā inscription does not give any information, therefore we have to depend only on the C.K.K.I. The name of the son and successor of Phakka was Kulbhat.

1. Kakkuka of the Ghatial inscription was 11th from Rajila and Bhoj of Gwaliar inscription was the 10th or 11th from Phakka (if we connect the Sursen dynasty with the Pratihars).
2. C. K. K. I. line 3.
3. Chitralekha inscription line 7-8
4. I. Ant. Vol XX., pp 34
5. The classical age. p. gives the beginning of Harischandra's rule in about 550 A.D.
6. Taking 20 years for each generation.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

From his queen Dranginī, the king had a son who was named Ajit, the unconquerable. If he be identified with one mentioned by the Jain author Jin Sen in Hari Vanśa,[1] year 605 of the Śaka era may be the date of his accession or death. Now 605 of the Śaka era corresponds to 683 A.D., which seems quite reasonable according to our reckoning. According to Hari Vanśa, the capital of Ajitañjaya was at Indrapur, which can denote either Indra-prasth or Indor[2] (in the north of Alwar). Nothing more is known about him except that the name of his wife was Apsar-priyā.

The son and successor of Ajit was Durgbhat. The Varāh incarnation of Vishṇu is mentioned in the verse giving information about him. It is not known what does it signify.[3] His wife was Vachhalikā. His son and successor was Durgdaman. He is said to have repelled the elephant corps-and cavalary of the enemy who was constantly engaged in aggressive attacks on all sides. The record itself does not show who this enemy was, hence we have to conjecture. The chronology we have accepted for Durgdaman, places him in an age which produced such great monarchs as Yashovarman[4] of Kanauj and Lalitāditya of Kashmir. Both these monarchs are credited with having overrun nearly the whole of India. The territory round about Kama lay in between the two warring heroes, therefore we would not be wrong to ascribe the marches and countermarches of the elephant corps and cavalary, described in C.K.K.I. during this reign, as connected with those campaigns. Perhaps Durgadaman was an ally of any one of them. These wars had virtually weakend both Kanauj[5] and Kashmir, therefore either Durgadaman or his successor assumed importance. From C.K.K.I. we know that his administration touched the mountains Meru and Himādri and the sea coast. We have already seen that the Śūrsen dynasty of this record can be identified with the imperial pratihār dynasty of Kanauj, which gained importance

1. Hari Vansa. chap. 60.

2. Popularly said to be founded by Nikumbhas. Formerly it was an important town in Mewat and served as capital of the Nikumbhas and Khanjedas.

3. Does it signify that the family also adopted another name वराह after this time or that the Adi Varah dramnas, the standard coinage of the Pratihars was introduced for the first time in this region.

4. As described in Gaudavaho of Vakpati, and Ragtarangini of Kalhan. His approximate date was 690 A. D. to 740. A. D. It is possible that he may be the Pratihar ruler Yashovarman who was the son of Tat. His date, reckoning back 25 years for each generation, also comes to be about 690 A. D. If this assumption is correct, early capital of the Pratihars was Kanauj and they came to Marwar after their defeat by Lalitaditya.

5. Yashovarman was either killed or expelled from Kanauj. It is Indrayudha who is next noticed in the history of Kanauj.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

just at this time, therefore the exploits of Nāgbhat and Kakkuka, the uncle and brother of Deva Rāj can be easily fitted in this account, although their names are not to be found in it. May be their names have obliterated in some lacumms. The Gwāliar inscription credits Nāgbhat for defeating an army of the Mlechha Balan.[1] This Balan may be not a name of the Mlechha invader, but either the capital city of Valbhi or Valla Maṇḍal, which had been sacked by Arab hordes.

The next king was Deva Rāj who according to the Gwāliar inscription was a nephew of Nāgbhat. In both C.K.K.I. and Gwāliar inscription he has been compared to Indra. He can also be identified with Bhaṭṭi Deva Rāj mentioned in the Ghatiyala inscription.[2] This reference may mean that in the earlier reign there had been constant skirmishes between the two neighbouring Pratihār states, Siluka proved to be the stronger and compelled his kinsmen to adjust the boundery. The name of the concert of Deva Rāj is said to be Yagyikā in C.K.K.I., but other Pratihār records call her Bhuyikā,[3] Perhaps this difference may be due to faulty reading or engraving.

Vatsadaman or Vatsa Rāj was the son of Deva Rāj. Although several lines of the C.K.K.I. have been devoted in his praise we are not in a position to gain any definite knowledge, but the words which are intact point out that it deals with his swoop as if it was from sky on some place well defended by elephants. Similar description[4] of the exploits of Vatsa Rāj can be found in the Gwāliar inscreption of Bhoj which adds that he thus took the empire into his possession. This similarity of ex-

1. Can the reading of the Gwaliar inscription of Bhoj, be "येनासौ सुकृत प्रमाथि ललितादित्याधिपाक्षौहिणी, instead बलन म्लेच्छाधिपाक्षौहिणी।" If it is so Nagbhat, who was either a brother or a son of Durgdaman, was the hero who drove out the Kashmir forces.

2. Some writers prefer to identify this Devaraj with a Bhatti Rajput of Jaisalmer. See 'The Classical Age' pp. 154.

I think that this Devaraj was of this Sursen dynasty for the following reasons:

(1) Kakkuka the fifth descendent from Siluka was present when Bhoj, the fifth descendent of Devaraj was ruling at Kanauj

(2) Kakkuka Bhat mentioned in the 2nd kaman inscription was perhaps the brother of Devaraj. Use of this Bhat by several generations may have been the reason for calling the family name as Bhat.

3. Many copper plate grants of this descendents give this name.

4. Compare:

माद्यत्कुंजर कुभं दारण रणत्कार·····॥—स्त समस्त शस्त्रावकल प्रख्यात कीर्तिस्वपि।—आकाशाद्वाति···प्रोत्खात खंङ्ग स्थिते-यस्यात्मैव ··· रणाङ्गणे ष्वभिमुखं संदृष्य····॥

Ind. Ant. Vol. X, p. 34.

ख्याताद् भण्डिकुलान्मदोत्कटकरिप्राकारदुर्लङ्घताम्।
यः साम्राज्यमधिज्यकार्मुकसखा संख्ये हठादग्रहीत्।

A.S.I. (1903-4.), pp 280.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

pression proves that both these records are describing the same event. Vatsa Rāj is also known from the Rāshṭrakūta and pāl records. In fact he was the originator of the triangular contest for sovereignity between these three powers. The events of this contest have fully come into light, therefore I am leaving them at present.

Thus we have seen that the Śūrsen dynasty known from C.K.K.I. is none else but the early members of the imperial Pratihār family. This name of the dynasty was not forgotten up to the end of the 11th century, becomes clear from its mention in the chitralekhā temple inscription which was engraved during the reign of Mahīpāl dev.

This family ruled the Śūrsen country after Harshavardhan and possibly was known as Śūrsen dynasty in opposition to Gurjar Pratihār dynasty which was the name given to the branch who ruled Maṇḍor. These Mathandev was a scion of the southern branch.

THE PARAMOUNT POWER AND THE VASSAL STATE. (7th—12th Cent. A.D.)

Prof. Bimala Prasad Mukerji

Wherever men have gathered together, they have gradually evolved some form of association that would ensure mutual interests. It might merely be the tribal bond of the Arabians, it might be a council of village elders like the Russian 'Mir' or group of Teutonic chiefs legislating on moonlit nights by their camp fires. Or again it might be a bigger gathering of tenants-in-chief taking the Oath at Salisbury or even powerful vassal princes doing homage to Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja.

The feudal structure of society had its origin in very early times. As in all ancient civilisations like Egypt and China, India too has had an agrarian economy which has determined her social pattern even in the undated history of her past. The mortar that binds the different social groups is common submission to one authority. There are feudal links as well, the act of homage and the oath of loyalty by a vassal to his over lord. These are descended from the old Aryan idea of the Comitatus which involves the idea of leadership and protection on the one hand, pledge and following on the other. These are natural social growths in times when war or conflict was the normal condition of life. The trappings of ceremonial were added later when feudal society and group-interests became much more complicated, when the relations between the overlord and his subordinate demanded a clearer definition for security and stabilisation.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

It is thus that feudalism in its political aspect came into play only when large kingdoms grew up and assumed or tried to extend authority over neighbouring chiefs. With a strong centre, royal power is easily consolidated. But a large state with imperial ambitions creates complications. It has to maintain an effective hold on the various loosely knit forces in outlying areas that betray a tendency to break off and fall apart. Indian history has always been a witness to the tussle between centralisation and de-centralisation. If the first Magadhan Empire was successful in imposing its sway over the bulk of the country, the second Magadhan Empire saw the birth of the Sāmanta-Chakra. Then the two Kanouj Empires developed and carried it further while the Pāla Empire saw its maturity and disappearance from Hindu India. Just as Feudalism in Europe evolved after the break-up of the Latin world of Christendom and survived as a socio-political system for many centuries, a quasi-feudal system of overlordship continued to exist in India for about eight hundred years. It is however difficult to determine its exact nature, for, feudalism in Hindu India did not crystallise or formulate itself into a well-defined political system with clear rights and obligations of the contracting parties.

Studying the political history of Northern India from the 6th Century B.C. to the 12th Century A.D., we notice that most principalities that turned out to be empire-builders had had a modest beginnings. The Guptas of Magadha, the Maukharis of Kanauj and the Pushyābhūtis of Thāneśvar had to acknowledge the suzerainty of some super-state before they became full-fledged sovereign powers. The Gupta Age which constitutes one of the most brilliant periods in the imperial history of Hindu India was specially favourable for the growth of feudatory, vassal or protected states. The conquests in Āraỵāvarta and Daksiṇāpatha undertaken on so extensive a scale by the second Gupta emperor and the formulation of a dual policy of complete annihilation and restoration of privileges created new problems, demanding a clear solution. The Gupta Empire, even at its peak, was not half as extensive as that of the Mauryas. Quite a large number of small states and petty chieftaincies, which might have retained their freedom but for the aggressive warfare of Samudragupta, felt, nevertheless, the weight of his arms and hailed him as their overlord. They agreed to pay tribute in exchange for their internal autonomy and freedom from further attack. Considering the spirit of the times and the political trend in the 4th Century A D., the integration of all India was too hard a task for Samudragupta to accomplish, and his empire, probably lacking the centralisation of the old, preferred to choose an unprecedented middle path between strict imperial control and local autonomy. An identical state of affairs meets our eyes during the closing period of the Pāla ascendancy in Bengal and Bihār when a galaxy of Sāmanta princes became at once a source of strength and weakness to the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

government. Though nominally the whole of India acknowledged by 1340 A.D. the overlordship of the Muslim rulers of Delhi in the Turco-Afghan period, it is correct to say that some tracts of land remained even after the sun-down of Hindi independence in the hands of Hindu Sāmanta rājās who were allowed to enjoy self-rule, subject to regular payment of tributes and gifts to the Delhi Sultanate.

Coming now to the question of relationship between the Paramount Power and the vassal chief, we may draw the following inference:—

The Paramount Power probably insisted on

(1) Payment of tribute
(2) Various acts of homage, e.g. personal attendance at the court on ceremonial occasions.
(3) Military assistance in emergency, and
(4) Matrimonial alliances.

As regards item No. (1), some amount of tribute was obviously demanded by the Paramount Power and acceded to by the vassal state as the price of protection or often in consideration of the superior prowess of the Suzerain.[1] In Kauṭillya's Arthaśāstra, we hear of additional taxes such as Senābhaktam (levied generally for the maintenance of troops), Utsarga (a tax realised on the occasion of the birth of a royal prince) and Aupayānika (presentation to the king on his visit.) Such levies, clearly resembling feudal imposts on tenants in Mediavel Europe, were systematically imposed and probably sanctified by usage. It may be mentioned that one of the ostensible causes of the invasion of India by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna was according to Firishta, the refusal on the part of Vijay Rāy, a feudatory Rājā of Bhera "to pay his portion of the tribute to Anadapāla, the Sāhi Kings of Bhātindā.[2]

As for item No. (2), these were a formal admission of dependence or submission and very often insisted on as a reminder of the relation in which a vassal stood to his overlord. Twenty tributary Rājās are said to have attended the religious festival held by Harsa at Kanauj to show respect to the Chinese pilgrim, Hieun Tsang. The verse No. 24 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, especially the expression 'the request for a charter endowed with Garuḍa seal[3] for the possession (or Government) of one's own country seems to indicate that Gupta paramountcy was sought after by many states in those days. Unless the request is interpreted as meaning establishment of diplomatic relations

1. References to tribute paid by the Feudatories are found in some of the Gupta inscriptions, e. g. Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

2. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Briggs Trans. Vol. I, p. 39.

3. The figures of the Garuda Bird appears on all coins and charters issued by the Gupta Emperors.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

only, many frontier rulers establishing contact with Samudragupta would come under the category of protected states. The fascinating account of the Pāla king holding durbar from time to time in his capital city at Pāṭaliputra is obtained from the Khalimpur Copper plate of Dharmapāla. A Durbar held at Pāṭaliputra was attended by the feudatory chiefs and subordinate rulers, to render homage and obedience to the Suzerain. The description may be somewhat idealised or exaggerated, but the passage is, as Dr. R.C. Majumdar points out, 'a fair index of the imperial vision of Bengal towards the close of the reign of Dharmapāla.

Regarding help of a military nature, many of the feudatory princes under the Guptas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Pālas fought on behalf of their overlord, simply because rendering military assistance or occasional supply of contingents was obligatory on their part. The Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha in Central Deccan who as a result of Samudragupta's success in trans-Vindhyam India were commissioned to administer certain territories as feudatories to the Guptas, took up arms against the Kadambas when they tried to break away from the Gupta Sāmanta-Cakra. Prithivīsena Vākāṭaka gave them battle and compelled them to sue for peace by ceding the Kuntala Province.[1] The Guhila prince Bhaṭṭa and Harsa Candella of Bundelkhand or his son came forward to humble the pride of the southern rivals of their overlord, Mahīpāla, the Gurjara-Pratihāra potentate. Similarly, the Pāla monarch, Rāmapāla obtained military assistance from his Sāmantas not only at the time of crushing the usurper Bhīma, but also at a time when he desired to expand his power southward. "The task" writes Dr. R.C. Majumdar, "was no doubt facilitated by the fact that the feudatory chiefs of Rāḍha had rallied to his standard, and were evidently attached to his cause. Presumably with their help, he invaded Orissa and extended his conquests upto Kalinga. That vassal states supplied contingents to the army of their overlord is also apparent from the composition of the army of Hindu Kings as given in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. The army of Hindu kings was generally composed of the following divisions:—

(*a*) Maula or regular hereditary army
(*b*) Bhrita or mercenary troops
(*c*) Troops of Corporations (Sreṇībala).
(*d*) Āṭavika troops or auxiliaries supplied by wild tribes, and
(*e*) Mitra-bala (allied contingents) supplied by feudatories or allies.

As for item No. (4), matrimonial alliances between the Paramount power and the vassal state were matters of common occurrence in the

1. History of Bengal Vol. 1., p. 161.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

period under review. The Pushyabhūti prince, Āditya-Vardhana married a Gupta princess, Mahāsenaguptā daughter of king Dāmodaı gupta of Magadha at the time when the Pushyabhūtis had been acting as feudatories to the Guptas. Then again, Prabhāvatī Guptā, daughter of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, was given in marriage to Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka house[1]. In the Pithpur Copper Plate inscription of Prabhavatī Guptā, the kings are called 'Mahārājādhirāja', but the Vākāṭaka kings, merely 'Mahārāja'. This suggests that the alliance of the Vākāṭakas with the Guptas was a subservient one[2]. Rājyaśrī, daughter of Prabhoākarvardhan of Thāneśwar was married to the last independent Maukharī ruler, Grahavarman, son of Avantivarman, whose ancestors were, at least up to the time of Iśānavarman, feudatories to the early Empire[3]. The series of unfortunate matrimonial connections between Thāneśwar and Mālavā and between Kanauj and Thāneśvar tended soon to fire the abmbition of the Gupta feudatories and provincial governors, and this fact, along with many others, was responsible for bringing about the final disruption of the Guptas as the predominant power in Northern India. The system of marriage between feudatories and their suzerains had at least one salutary effect. It gave forty years of peace and stability to the country by uniting the three warring kingdoms—Kaunaj, Mālavā and Thāneśwar, under the hegemony of Harsa Śilāditya. Timely ıecourse to matrimonial alliances has, always been a great safeguard against the loss of internal sovereignty, whenever a weaker state has confronted the pressure of a stronger one. Rājputāna's classic struggle against the Mughals and the ultimate submission of Amber (Jaipur) under Bihāri Mall to Akbār, the great Mughal, was cemented by a matrimonial alliance.

As already said, the Gupta Age showed clear signs of feudal tendencies. A uniform administrative control over areas lying outside the Gupta dominions being impossible in this period of disintegration, Samudragupta and his immediate successors stood forth as overlord to many tracts or regions, which though temporarily brought under control, were not absolutely without prospects of revival. It is extremely difficult to state whether at first the Guptas and following them the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Pālas imposed all the feudal obligations on the vassal chiefs. What amount of intervention in the internal affairs of the vassal state was pei-

1. On the supposition that the Guptas continued as the Paramount Power in Central India and the Vakatakas, although by now 'a purely Southern power' acted as feudatories to Chandragupta II for looking after some unspecified territories in the Deccan.

2. Dr. D. C. Sircar: Some selected Inscriptions. p. 414 foot note.

3. Rajyasri's marriage with Grahavarman might be an exception, it being contracted between the house of two sovereign states, Kanauj and Thanesvar.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

missible and whether the Paramount Power assumed the right to regulate succession, marriage, appointment of important functionaries and establish a more or less permanent agency to look to imperial interests, we have no definite information about. One thing, however, seems highly probable. There are instances of Feudal chiefs being permitted by their Suzerains to perform certain important state functions on their behalf. We have seen that Mahāsāmanta Śaśānka of the Rotusgarh Seal was feudatory of the later Guptas before he became a sovereign ruler. The Gunāighar Copper Plate records the grant of land in the year 188 (507-8 A.D.) by Mahārājā Vainyagupta, an independent king of Eastern Bengal to Rudradatta, who has been described as "a slave to his feet". The same inscription refers to Vijayasena as "Mahāpratihāra", "Mahāpilupati", "Pañchādhi-Karaṇ-oparika" and "Mahārājā Śrī-Mahāsāmanta". Commenting on Gupta imperialism, Dr. R.C. Majumder observes:—"The Gupta emperors did not directly administer the whole territory in Bengal which was formally within the empire. There were feudal chiefs referred to as Mahāsāmanta, who even assumed the title of Mahārājā. There were probably the chiefs of what were formerly independent states. Reference may be made to the cases of Mahāsāmanta Śaśānka, and of Mahārājā Mahāsāmanta Vijayasena and Mahārajā Rudradatta mentioned in the record of Vainya Gupta. The epithets applied to Vijayasena show that important state functions were entrusted to some of the Feudatory chiefs". It appears from inscriptions that the empire of the Guptas as well as of the Pālas was divided for administrative purposes into Deśas, Bhuktis, Vishayas and maṇḍalas. The Deśas were placed in charge of provincial Governors (Uparika) who might be selected from among the princes of the ruling family. The Crown Prince (Yuvarāja) was naturally assigned an important province and invested with responsible administrative duties. Was not Aśoke sent out by Bindusāra to administer the important frontier Province of Takshaśilā before his accession to the throne? Fleet in his Gupta Inscriptions considers the term 'Mahāsāmanta', to be a Feudatory title, equal in rank with Mahārājā and 'Mahāsenāpati'. The office of the Mahāsenāpati or the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial forces was merged probably in that of the Provincial Governor. So it is not unlikely that the crown Prince or the their-apparent combined in his person the two-fold charge of the Provincial Governor and the Army-Commander with powers to exercise a general supervision over the Feudatory Princes. The distinction between civil and military department seems to have been rather vague in the Gupta Age. A Mahāsāmanta may thus mean either a big feudal chief raised to the status of a provincial governor or a crown prince exercising control over feudal chiefs when placed in charge of an imperial province. The above elucidation of the terms 'Mahāsāmanta' and 'Mahāsenāpati', apparently titles borne by

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Śaśāṇka and Vijayasena of the Gupta period would suggest nothing more than an intelligent surmise that Provincial Governors wielded some amount of shadowy control, both civil and military, over the feudatory chiefs, if and when their territories happened to come within the jurisdiction of Provincial Governors. As regards detailed information about the powers actually exercised by the Provincial administrators or by the sovereign, if in direct political relationship with the Feudatory, we are still in the dark and any statement on this subject, would, therefore, be extremely vague and conjectural.

Chronologically speaking, the disruption of the Gupta Empire was taken advantaśe of by the Maitrakas, the Maukharis, and the Kings of Navyāvakāśika and Karṇasuvarṇa in Bengal who gradually assumed an independent position. Coming down to the reign of Harsavardhan, we learn from Hiuen Tsang that the religious assembly at Kanouj was attended by 'twenty two tributary Rājās' including the king of Āssām from the extreme East and the King of Valabhī from the extreme west. Harsa's empire-evidently consisted of subordinate kingdoms the rulers of which attended in person at the imperial court. Bhāskarvarman, King of Kāmarūpa, however cannot be ranked as a vassal ally.

The fall of the first Kanouj Empire created a gap which was filled up subsequently by the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The tri-partite struggle for power with the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Mālkhed and the Pālas of Bengal ended in the victory of the Pratihāras. Incidentally, they must have received the active assistance of feudatory chiefs, Nāgabhata II and Mahīpāla in particular, were well-served by their vassal allies. But the Pratihāra sāmanta-cakra was on the point of breaking down after Mahipāla's defeat at the hands of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III.

Under the Pālas of Bengal, the picture of feudal structure becomes more pronounced. The Pālas, as Dr. Nihār Roy states, did not import any new theories of state. They only underlined imperial traditions and their rule witnessed the continued play of political forces which had been shaping so long history in Northern India. It may be safe to presume that the Sāmanta-Cakra was a developed and established institution by this time. The Pāla Empire must have consisted of subordinate feudatory princes, at one time independent but now reduced to vassalage as Mahāsāmantas. The Khalimpur inscription refers to a Mahāsāmanta Śrī Nārāyaṇavarmā. The installation of Cakrāyudha, Dharmapālas nominee, on the throne of Kanouj was made in the presence of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra, Kīrā and Pañchāla chiefs who were vassal allies. The imperial assembly at Kanouj was held to celebrate the conclusion of a victorious compaign and such assemblies obviously required the respectful attendance of Rājans, Rājanyakas, Rāṇakas, Sāman-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tas, Mahāsāmantas and other dignitaries seeking imperial favour or patronage.

Feudal forces continued to exert their influence and those who revolted against Mahīpāla II belonged to the circle of feudatories. The Rāma-Carita by Sandhyākara Nandī throws interesting side-light on the two important political events of the Pāla regime, viz. the defection of the Gauḍa Sāmanta-Cakra and the services rendered by a large number of vassal states in overthrowing Kaivarta rule in North Bengal. The commentator of the Rāma-Carita tells us that Rāmapāla's maternal uncle, Rāṣṭrakūta Mahana with his two sons helped in the expedition against Prithivīpati Deva-raksita, an important feudatory. In the list of Sāmanta allies who helped the King in his Varendri campaign were such important vassals as Vīraguṇa, ruler of Koṭāṭavī, Jayasimha of Daṇḍabhukti, Vikramarāja of Bāla-valabhi, Laksmīsūra, styled as Āṭavika-Sāmanta-Cakra-Chūdāmaṇi, Śūrapāla, ruler of Kujavatī, Rudraśikhara of Tailakampa, Mayagala Sinha of Uchchāla, Pratāpasimha of Dekharīya and Narasimhārjuna, chief of Kayangala-maṇḍala. Those again who were responsible for the disintegration of the Pāla empire were feudatories. The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva refers to Kumarapāla's expedition against Tiṇgyadeva, the rebel prince of Kāmarūpa. In the failure of the Pālas to revive old imperial dreams, the break-down of the Sāmanta alliance must have been a deciding factor. The same feudal tendencies were at work under the Senas, only in a more marked fashion. From the exaggrated pomp of royal titles and the inflation of bureaucratic prestige even under minor chiefs of local ruling houses, it is not difficult, says Dr. Nīhar Roy, to guess the implications of feudal decadence.

It seems clear that the practice of homage by lesser chiefs and grant of protection by sovereigns were familiar enough in ancient and medieval India. References to Adhirāja and Samrāṭ in later Vedic texts point to their very early evolution. With the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas, the typical large kingdom with imperial designs had invariably the nucleus of a centraly administered territory with a ring of vassal kingdoms in varying degrees of subordination to the overlord. A decisive defeat would turn independent rulers into tributaries who might be called vassals by conquest. From the advice given in the Arthaśāstra for a weak prince to render voluntary obeisance to a strong power, it may be presumed that there were vassals by choice and contract on ground of political expediency.

The measure of control exercised by an overlord over his vassals cannot be stated precisely. But it certainly varied, circumstantially. Ideally and normally, the lesser chiefs paid regular tribute, helped with funds and troops and attended the Court on ceremonial occasions. Such panegyrics as Sakala-nṛpa-mukuṭa-maṇi-marīci-caya-carcita-caraṇa-yugala

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

have a core of truth lost in literary effusions. The vassal was again expected to mention in his grants and charters the name and title of his overlord before referring to himself. The overlord kept on occasions an agent or representative at the vassal's capital. Classical literature also mentions that the sons and daughters of a vassal were trained up with his lord's children and some of them served as friendly gentlemen and maids-in-waiting. Not infrequently did the status of a favourite counsellor or minister merge with that of a vassal prince vested with office by the overlord.

The Mahāsāmanta was very often a powerful chief with his own soldiery and government. Feudal revolts were the greatest menace to imperial security and more often than not the Mahāsāmanta utilised a crisis to shake off his loyalty to further his own independence. Medieval Indian History can provided many such examples of feudal groping for sovereign power. The decline of the Pratihāra empire, the end of the Pālas after a brief restoration and the overthrow of the Cālukyas by the vassal Dantidurga Rāṣṭrakūṭa are cases in point. The lesser chiefs might patiently accept their vassalage, exercising little real power like the country noblity. But powerful tributaries running a semi-independent state and enjoying special privileges including, perhaps, the right of collecting their lord's revenue were the biggest threat to suzerainty. Forces and elements whose very nature was to disintegrate would naturally make for devolution and instability, ending in Mātsya-nayāya.

It would be idle to press for a close parallelism between indigenous and foreign institutions. If, in medieval India, we search for a detailed working of the feudal system or the complex structure of a purely contractual relationship governing the entire society from the crown to the serf, we may not find them. Technically speaking, the true feudal system of Western variety did not exist in Hindu India. But loosely interpreted, it was there. The broad relationships between the king and his vassal, the vassal and his helpful allies, the existence of feudal faction and decentralising tendencies and the prevalence of specific class-privileges are sure indications of a feudal polity. Hindu India in medieval times had thus a quasi-feudal system of overlordship. It was not the fullfledged institutional type as in Europe, because the basic structures are different. It was perhaps only after the advent of Muslims that a system, somewhat similar to the Western type, evolved specially among the Rājputs. The foundation of Vihāras and Universities, the practice of a pietism, the code of chivalry and the activities of ministerels and chroniclers recall similar expressions of Feudalism in Europe, particularly the monastic revival, the growth of scholasticism and university-life, the deeds of knight-errants and songs of troubadours.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NEPĀL IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY A. D.

S. K. SARASWATI

For the history of Nepāl we possess a number of traditional chronicles (*vamśāvalīs*) which profess to furnish a connected history of the valley from the earliest days down to the modern times. In 1811 Kirkpatrick published *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul* which was based on such a chronicle. Following him, Wright utilised a chronicle, apparently a different one, for his *History of Nepāl* which was published in 1877. These two works, by their divergent accounts of the history and chronology of Nepāl, prove not only the unreliable nature of the chronicles, but also the existence of different sets of traditions in this respect. In the eighties of the last century Dr. Bhagavan Lal Indraji first tried to reconstruct the history of Nepāl with reference to archaeological data and the inscriptions that he studied in this connection were sufficient to demonstrate the unhistorical character of the traditional *vamśāvalīs*. Since then Bendall has covered a set of *vamśāvalīs*, which, compiled about the close of the fourteenth century A.D., seem to preserve a comparatively less distorted version of the traditions regarding the history and chronology of Nepāl.

Apart from epigraphical remains and traditional chronicles, the history and chronology of Nepāl, as known today, have largely been reconstructed from evidences supplied by rather unlikely sources, namely notices of scribes of manuscripts recorded in colophons giving dates and particulars of their copying. Though brief, these are very valuable as contemporary evidences. Not unoften a partisan spirit lurks behind the accounts of the inscriptions and the *vamśāvalīs*, and the latter, compiled rather late, suffer usually from imperfect and rather hazy knowledge of past events. The colophons of manuscripts record simple facts without any bias or colouring, and these brief contemporary notices are invaluable, not only as supplying new and invaluable data, but also serving as checks on the evidence of the other two.

These notices, as well as the inscriptions, are dated in the Nepāl era which started in 879-80 A.D. According to Cunningham king Rāghavadeva was the traditional founder of this era which marks the emancipation of Nepāl from the Tibetan yoke. Sylvain Levi is inclined to ignore this tradition. Though this king is passed over by Wright, his name is duly recorded in Kirkpatrick's and Bendall's *vamśāvalīs*.[1] Kirkpatrick

1. Sastri, *Catalogue of Palmleaf and paper manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal (CPMDN.)*, Historical Introduction, pp. 5-6

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

also ascribes to him the foundation of an era[1]. The authenticity of this tradition is also proved by the total of the reign periods attributed to him and his five immediate successors in Bendall's *vamśāvalī* roughly corresponding to the date given in a Cambridge manuscript for king Lakshmīkāmadeva who comes next.[2] It is significant to note that Bendall's *vamśāvalī* is in material agreement with that of Kirkpatrick with regard to the names of the above kings and their succession. For the first two hundred years of the Nepāl era we have no epigraphic records and very little is known of Rāghavadeva and his five immediate successors.

From the beginning of the eleventh century we have a regular series of dates and names of Nepāl kings recorded in manuscript colophons. The earliest date apparently in the Nepāl era, recorded in a manuscript of the *Devīmāhātmya* in the Durbar Library, Nepal, is 118, i.e. 998 A.D., which refers to the reign of Rājādhirāja Dharmamalla.[3] This name, however, does not find mention in any of the *vamśāvalīs*, including that of Bendall, and no inference can be drawn until a closer examination of the manuscript colophon in question is possible. In the present article we propose to confine our attention to the first fifty years of the eleventh century A.D. for which we have a rather curious sort of evidences, apparently of a conflicting nature, recorded in manuscript colophons. Some of these notices have already been examined by previous scholars who wrote on the history of Nepāl, while others refer to new data. To our mind a few of the previously known notices admit of new interpretations in the light of the new data and it is possible, perhaps, to obtain a more reliable account of the history of these fifty years. It may be found useful to give at the outset a chart of the dates under examination:

date	king	source
N. S. 128 (1008 A. D.)	Nirbhaya and Rudradeva (dvirājyaka)	(Cambridge Ms. Add. 866)
N. S. 132 (1012 A. D.)	Not given	(CPMDN. II, p. 12)
N. S. 135 (1015 A. D.)	Bhojadava, Rudradeva and Lakshmīkāmadeva	(Cambridge Ms. Add. 1643)
N. S. 147 (1027 A. D.)	Not givan	(CPMDN. II, p. 246)
N. S. 148 (1028 A. D.)	Rudradeva	Ms. in author's Collection)
N. S. 149 (1029 A. D.)	Lakshmīkāmadeva	(CPMDN. II, p. 5)
N. S. 156)1036 A. D.)	Lakshmīkāmadeva	(A. S. Ms. G. 4077)
N. S. 159 (1039 A. D.)	Lakshmīkāmadeva	(Cambridga Ms. Add. 1683)

1. Kirkpatrick, *Account of the kingdom of Nepal*, p. 262.

2. *CPMDN.* I, Historical Introduction, pp. 5-6. Bendall reads the reign period assigned in his *vamsavali* as 46 years 6 months to Raghavadeva. But the facsimile of the relevant folio clearly reads 43 years 6 months.

3. *CPMDN.* I, p. 64.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

N. S. 164 (1044 A. D.)	Bhāskaradeva	(CPMDN. II, p. 9)
N. S. 167 (1047 A. D.)	Bhāskaradeva	(CPMDN. I, p. 30)
N. S. 172 (1052 A. D.)	Baladeva	(CPMDN. II, p. 60)

Besides, we have two other manuscripts without any dates which refer to the reigns respectively of Bhojadeva (Cambridge Ms. Add. 2191) and Rudradeva (CPMDN. II, p. 84).

The first notice in the above chart reads as follows:—

Abde śate sāshṭaka-vimśa-yute māse śubhe phalgunāśuklapakshe somavāre nakshatraramyottarabhadra-sajñe / Śrī-Nirbhayasya nripateh surasannibhasya Śrī-Rudradeva-vasudhādhipateś-cha ramye / evam divrājyaka[1]

Nirbhaya appears in Kirkpatrick's chronicle[2] as Nurbhoy Deo immediately after Oodoy Deo (Udayadeva of Bendall), though his name is omitted in Bendall's *vamśāvali*. Unfortunately, because of the abrupt lacuna in the colophon its full significance is not clear. The term *dvirājyaka* in the colophon has been interpreted to mean 'Joint regency' of Nirbhaya and Rudradeva.[3] Instances of such joint regencies are also recorded in subsequent Nepal history (cf. Asiatic Society's manuscript G. 10723D recording the joint regency in N.S. 516, i.e. 1396 A.D. of three princes, *yuvarāja* Jayadharmamalla and his two brothers Jayajyotimalla and Jayakīrtimalla, sons of king Jayasthitirājamalla). The date 128 (1008 A.D.) in the colophon under notice falls within the period of Guṇakāmadeva who is stated in Bendall's *vamśāvali* to have a long reign of 65 years and five months ending, in our opinion, in N.S. 129 (1009 A.D.). The colophon may, under the circumstances, be interpreted to mean a joint regency of Nirbhaya and Rudra, who were probably Guṇakāmadeva's sons, during his closing years when he had grown too old and feeble to conduct the government personally. There are difficulties, however, in such an interpretation. First the titles, *nripati* and *vasudhādhipati*, applied respectively to Nirbhaya and Rudradeva in the colophon, indicate for them a status, higher than that of princes jointly acting as regents of the kingdom. Again, the epithet, *vasudhādhipati*, applied to Rudradeva, signifies possibly for him a higher rank than that of Nirbhaya who has been simply mentioned as *nripati*. Moreover, from the close proximity of dates Rudradeva of N.S. 128 (1008 A.D.), N.S. 135 (1015 A.D.) and N.S. 148 (1028 A.D.) appears to have been one and the same person who seems to have been continuously associated with the government of the kingdom for at least 20 years whatever his actual status might have been. If we assume Nirbhaya and Rudradeva as holding a joint regency in N.S.

1. Bendall, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit maunscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (Cambridge Catalogue)*, pp. 3-4.

2. Kirkpatrick, *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 262-63.

3. Ray. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 196-97.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

128 (1008 A.D.) during the closing years of Guṇakāmadeva's long reign it is difficult to place Udyadeva, definitely stated in Bendall's *vamśāvali* to have been a successor of Guṇakāmadeva with a reign of 5 years and 5 months, in the light of Rudradeva's continuous association with the government jointly with Bhojadeva in N.S. 135 (1015 A.D.) and as a ruler, perhaps ephemeral, in N.S. 148 (1028 A.D.). In the light of the evidence in Bendall's *vamśāvali* with regard to the reign periods of Rāghavadeva' and his five immediate successors it is also difficult to place Nirbhaya and Rudradeva after Guṇakāmadeva and Udayadeva unless we assume that Rāghavadeva, the founder of the Nepal era, ascended the throne sometime before 879-80 A. D., the initial date of the era which, according to Cunningham, marks the date of the emancipation of Nepal from the Tibetan yoke. In that case his reign period of 43 years 6 months, as given in Bendall's *vamśāvali*, includes also the period of his reign before 879-80 A.D. The date N.S. 128 (1008 A.D.), supplied by Cambridge Mss. Add. 866, might, under the circumstances, refer to the joint sovereignity (*dvirājyaka*) of Nirbhaya and Rudradeva after Udayadeva. Bendall's *vamśāvali* is apparently wrong in omitting these two names from the list of Nepal kings.

Circumstances, however, indicate a trouble in the Nepal kingdom after Udayadeva, and this trouble might have necessitated a joint rule of two kings as recorded in Cambridge Mss. Add. 866. The omission of the name of the king in the manuscript colophon dated N.S. 132 (1012 AD.)[1] might or might not have any significance. The colophon of Cambridge Mss. Add. 1643 with the date N.S. 135 (1015 A.D.) seems to signify evil portents of a serious nature with regard to the solidarity of the kingdom. The relevent verse of the colophon reads as follows:—

Rājñi śrī-Bhojadeve' pyamitaguṇagaṇ | ālabdha-śrī-Rudradeve |
Śrī-Lakshmikāmadevair-arijagatkuliśair-ardharajye' pabhukte ||[2]

The reference here is to three rulers, Bhojadeva, Rudradeva and Lakshmikāmadeva and two interpretations of the verse have been offered, one by Bendall and the other by Sylvain Levi. Before we discuss them it is significant to note that though omitted in Bendall's *vamśāvali*, Bhojadeva and Rudradeva have possibly been referred to in Kirkpatrick's chronicle under 'Bhaj Deo Budro' coming after Nurbhoy Deo.[3] Bhojadeva also finds mention in Wright's chronicle between Guṇakāmadeva and Lakshmikāmadeva and in the undated Cambridge Mss. Add. 2191. With regard to the colophon under examination Bendall is of opinion that Bhojadeva apparently governed one half of the kingdom, while the other two,

1. *CPMDN.* II, p. 12.
2. *Cambridge Catalogue*, p. 151.
3. Kirkpatrick, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 262-63.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Rudradeva and Lakshmīkāmadeva ruled the other half as co-regents[1]. Levi[2] finds in this verse mention of a joint sovereignty (similar to *dvirājyaka* referred to Cambridge Mss. Add. 866) of Bhojadeva and Lakshmīkāmadeva, the former, according to him, being referred to in the verse as the successor of Rudradeva. The reading of the word *ālabdha* in the verse, on which Levi bases his argument, is, however doubtful, a portion of the line in question being blurred. Moreover, we have evidence of Rudradeva ruling in N.S. 148 (1028 A. D.). The word *api* in the first line of the verse, in our opinion, seems to have a special force and the verse may better be interpreted as Lakshmīkāmadeva, who is as 'a thunder to the world of his enemies' (*arijagatkiuliśaih*), having wrested half the kingdom in spite of the joint rule of Bhojadeva and Rudradeva. The plural form used with reference to Lakshmīkāmadeva and the *arijagatkuliśaih* with regard to his might and prowess seem to signify a special importance ascribed to him in the verse. The colophon, hence, indicates a struggls between two rival factions for the possession of the kingdom and the joint rule of Nirbhaya and Rudradeva in N.S. 128 (1008 A.D.) and that of Bhojadeva and Rudradeva seven years later in N.S. 135 (1015 A.D.), as recorded respectively in Cambridge Mss. Add. 866 and Add. 1643, might have been necessitated by the circumstances due to the danger that threatened the solidarity of the kingdom. But even this measure should not avert the disaster as evidenced by the notice in Cambridge Ms. 1643 dated N.S. 135 (1015 A.D.) when Lakshmīkāmadeva, in all probability of the rival faction, is stated to have wrested half the kingdom by his valour and prowess.

That the fortune of Lakshmīkāmadeva was already in the ascendant in N.S. 135 (1015 A.D.) is evident from the metrical colophon in Cambridge Mss. Add. 1643. But the struggle seems to have continued till N.S. 148 (1028 A.D.) when in a manuscript in the author's collection Rudradeva is simply referred to as *Rājā vasumanuprathite śrīman-Nepālavatsare pragate| māgha-śukla-daśamyām| rājña śri-Rudradevasya||*. It appears that by that date Rudradeva was virtually reduced to the position of an ephemeral ruler. The Durbar Library manuscript of *Samkshiptābhis hekabidhi*[3] referring to the reign of Rudradeva, but without any date might probably have belonged to this phase of Rudradeva's position. In this light the absence of any mention of the reigning king in the Durbar Library manuscript with the date N.S. 147 (1027 A.D.)[4] acquires possibly a new significance. It appears that with the g adual rise of Lakshmīkāmadeva

1. *Cambridege Catalogue*, pp. v-vi.
2. Levi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, pp. 191-92.
3. *CPMDN.* II, p. 84.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to power and prominence Rudradeva might have continued a precarious and ephemeral existence till N.S. 148 (1028 A.D.) after which he disappeared from the scene. Lakshmīkāmadeva was firmly established in the possession of the entire kingdom.

The above inference is fully corroborated by manuscript in the Durbar Library, Nepal bearing the date N.S. 149 (1029 A.D.) when Lakshmīkāmadeva is referred to as the reigning sovereign with all the imperial titles (*Samvat* 149 *śrāvana-śukla-dvitīyāyām mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Lakshmīkāmadeva-parameśvarasya vijayarājye*)[1] Similar notice of king Lakshmīkāmadeva with all sovereign titles are found in Asiatic Society's Mss. G. 4077: dated N.S. 156 (1036 A.D.)[2] and in Cambridge Ms. Add. 1683, dated N.S. 159 (1039 A.D.) [3]. In Bendall's *vamśāvali* Lakshmīkāmadeva is significantly stated as 'having restored peace in the kingdom' (*rāshṭre santinkritavān*).[4] This may have a reference to the end of the state of disorder and confusion arising out of the struggles of the contending parties for the possession of the kingdom, as alluded to above, with the possession of full sovereignity by Lakshmīkāmadeva.

Lakshmīkāmadeva is assigned a reign of 21 years in the *vamśāvali* of Bendall. This period appears to be slightly less if we count his reign from N.S. 135 (1015 A.D.) when he is already known to have wrested half the kingdom. His successor was Vijayadeva (Bendall's *vamśāvali*) or Jayadeva (other chronicles). Of this king who is assigned a reign of 21 years[5] we have no dates in manuscript notices. Bendall's *vamśāvali* states that he reigned over half the kingdom at Lalitāpuri indicating, again, a division of the kingdom, possibly due to a conflict with a rival faction, after Lakshmīkāmadeva. The next king in all the chronicles was Bhāskaradeva for whom we have two dates, N.S. 164 (1044 A.D.)[6] and N.S. 167 (1047 A.D.)[7] in two manuscripts of the Durbar Library, Nepal. The first, however, refers to his reign without any distinctive titles, but the latter styles him with all the imperial epithets *Paramabhāṭṭaraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*. The chronicles, except that of Bendall, describes him as the founder of a new dynasty. Bendall's *vamśāvali* has, however, a rather curious statement with regard to his having 'repaired the paternal crown' *pitrimaulita (na) vikritā*). This statement of the *vamśāvali* might indicate his connection with the earlier ruling family

1. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
2. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal: *Annual Exhibition*, 1951, p. 6.
3. *Cambridge Catalogue*, p. 172.
4. *CPMDN.* I, Plate.
5. Bendall reads the period in his *vamsavali* as 31 years. But the plate in *CPMDN*, I clearly read 21 years in conformity with other chronicles.
6. *CPMDN.* II, p. 9
7. *CPMDN.* I, p. 30.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which Lakshmīkāmadeva dispossessed, and the earlier date possibly refers to a period in the rising stage of his career and the latter when he was in full possession of sovereignty. In Bendall's *vamśāvali* he has been assigned a reign of three years. It is interesting to note that his recorded dates fall within the reign period of Vijayadeva, as given in the different chronicles. Either this assignment is wrong, or his reign period, as given in the chronicles, might have included his rule over Lalitāpurī (cf. Bendall's *vamśāvali*) possibly as a vassal of Bhāskaradeva.

We have nearly reached the close of the period that we have selected for this article. The next date recorded in a Durbar Library manuscript is N.S. 172 (1052 A.D.)[1] which refers to the reign of Baladeva, successor of Bhāskaradeva, styled as *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara*. He is attributed a reign of 12 years and another manuscript in the Durbar Library, copied in N.S. 180 (1060 A.D.)[2] refers to his reign. Kirkpatrick places one Oodoy Deo[3] (Udayadeva) between Bhāskaradeva and Baladeva. This might have been a mistake on the part of Kirkpatrick's chronicles or Udayadeva might have a short reign between Bhāskaradeva's last known date, i.e. N.S. 167 (1047 A.D.) and Baladeva's earliest, i.e. N.S. 172 (1052 A.D.). From the absence of his mention in other chronicles the former supposition appears to be the most plausible.

FALL OF THE RĀSHTRAKUTAS

DR. G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

Krishna III was the last great king of the Rashtrakuta family. There is evidence to show that his authority was acknowledged in Malwa and Baghelkhand in the north and the Tanjore District of the Madras Presidency in the south. Krishna died in about 967 A. D.[4] and within six years of his death the Rashtrakuta hegemony in the Deccan became a thing of the past. One hardly fails to notice that in the case of the Rashtrakutas, as it was in that of their predecessors,—the Chalukyas of Vatapi —the end was quite sudden and hardly expected. A close study of their history during the last forty five or forty-six years (927[5]-973 A.D.), however, reveals certain interesting facts. The period is covered by the reigns of six Kings—Amoghavarsha II, Govinda IV, Amoghavarsha III, Krishna III,

1. *CPMDN.* II, p. 60.
2. *CPMDN.* I, p. 11.
3. Kirkpatrick, *Loc. Cit.* pp. 262-63.
4. EI. XXI. 261 f.
5. EI. XXVI. 161f. This is the last known date of Indra III.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Khottiga and Karka II. The first mentioned king ruled for a year and was then deposed by his younger brother Govinda IV. But even he proved unworthy of holding such an exalted position. Unmindful of his regal duties, and addicted to the pleasures of the senses, and also probably tyrannical, he forfeited of the good will of his subjects, and lost his life at the hands of the Chalukay prince Arikesarin II, after a reign of about four years (930-34)[1]. His successor Amoghavarsha III is praised only for his religious desposition, and it is said that he ascended the throne after being entreated by the feudatories to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Tattas[2]. Pampa, however, claims that his patron (Arikesarin II) "fittingly conveyed the universal empire to Baddega-deva (Amoghavarasha III) who came trusting to him"[3]

It is well known that during the reign of the fifth king in the above list, namely Khottiga, the Paramara chief Harsha-Siyaka, who is known to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Krishna III[4] fell upon the Rashtrakuta capital and sacked it. The final crash came in the reign of Karka II, when another feudatory of Krishna III put an end to his line.

The chain of events noted above clearly suggests that the Royal race of the Rashtrakutas ceased to produce any more men of outstanding character and ability. The hands of feudatories could now be seen almost everywhere. They seem to have grown more powerful, more ambitious, and more arrogant. No dynasty could hope to ratain its influence under such conditions, and the Rashtrakutas were no exception. Krishna III, alone among these later kings, had a long reign, and was endowed with kingly ambition and soldierly vigour. But he was an exception. He was able to put off the final end for sometime, but could not prevent it. His succession to the throne does not seem to have been peaceful. The spurious sudi Plates of Butuga II and the Kudalur grant of his son Marashmha II record that after the death of Baddega (Amoghavarsha III), the former siezed the horses, elephants, while umbrella and the throne by killing a certain Lalleya, and gave them to Krishna [5]. Here, then, we have some evidence to suggest that there was already a movement afoot to oust the Rashtrakutas from power more than three decades before the event actually took place.

1. EI. XXVI. 163
2. Deoli Plates (Verses 18-19) and Karhad Plates (verse 20) of Krishna III, EI V. 1944. IV 283 f.
3. EI. XIII. 328-29.
4. Cf Harsola Grants of Harsha Siyaka, EI. XIX. 241.
5. EI. III, 179, 183; MAS 1921 p ; Sources of the Karnataka history, Vol. I. 105; Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 45; E. C. VIII, Nagara 35., Tex. p. 251.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In the Sravana-Belgola epitaph of Marasimha II (963-974) it is claimed that he "displayed his prowess in breaking the pride of Alla, he stood up against Vanagajamalla" (Krishna III,) and that "he preserved by his valour *all the insignia of royalty, including the throne,* for Gandamartanda (Krishna III)[1]. The significance of the last part of the statement can hardly be missed. It shows that in the sixties of the tenth century the hostility against the Rashtrakutas gathered fresh momentum. Within a few years came the sack of Manyakheta, and the physical and moral bankruptcy of the ruling family became patent to all. Everything was thus heading for the final catastrophe, and the *coup de grace* was delivered by Taila II.

BARAKAR TEMPLE NO. 4.

SHRI NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

Temple No. 4 at Begunia near Barakar (23 45' N, 86 49' E) has been assigned to the late eighth century in the *History of Bengal* published by the Dacca University. The reasons which have been given for this are, firstly, that the outline of the *sikhara* is similar to that of Parasurameswar in Bhubaneswar. There is no *jagamohana* even of the type associated with Parasurameswar or Markandyeswar. The *bhumi-amlas* are like those of the early group of temples of Bhubaneswar; and the *bara* is divisible into three elements instead of five as in the later temples of Orissa (Bose, 1932).[2]

The author of the present paper recently examined this temple and found some additional elements in the architecture which suggest a comparatively late date for the temple.

(1) The height of the temple was measured in a rather crude fashion with the help of a box-sextant on a base of 25 feet. It was found that the height was 36·5 feet. The length of the cella being 6.9 feet, the over-all proportion of the temple comes up to 1:5.7. The *garbha* being 6.9 feet, the walls came up to 8.2 feet; which is very unusual even for a late Orissan temple. In the latter case, the two walls together form a thickness equal to the length of the *garbha*.

From this point of view, although the temple belongs to the *tri-anga* class, yet its proportions are as those of the *panch-anga* class.

(2) In the matter of internal construction, the cella is shut off above by a flat ceiling. It was reported by a priest attached to the temple that

1. Bhadana grant of Aparajita, verse II, probably contained an allusion to some misfortune that befell Krishna III (E. I. III 272, and note 6.)
2. Bose, Nirmal Kumar : 1932, *Canons of Orissan Architecture,* Calcutta, pp. 187-193.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the ceiling had been repaired a few years ago. He was quite firm when he said that the ceiling had existed from before.

Over the lintel in front, there is a corbelled opening. The priest also said that it was possible to go through that passage to a room which existed above the cella.

This kind of construction is not usually found in temples of the Parasurameswar class in Bhubaneswar.

(3) The *amalaka* has concave segments instead of convex. The *bhumi-amlas* are similar to the chief *amla* in this respect. The *raha paga* is flanked by three pairs of *bhumi-amlas*, which is a feature not found so far in any Eastern temples (except perhaps that of Saripalli in Madras), but is quite common in Rajputana, e.g., in Osian and in the miniature votive shrines at Arhai-din-ka-jhopra in Ajmer.

Temples having this characteristic are known to belong to the late centuries rather than to the seventh or eighth.

(4) The *pabhaga* of Barakar No. 4 is made up of three mouldings; the second element is very much unlike the standard *noli* which is commonly found in early temples like Parasurameswar or even Alampur in Hyderabad.

On the eastern wall of the *sikhara* there is an image of Lakulisa attended by two listeners. The style of the carving is archaic; but the presence of an archaic piece of sculpture is not crucial in the matter of dating the temple itself. The Lakulisa image, if it is really old, might as well have been derived from some earlier construction which has disappeared altogether. In the compound of the Begunia group of temples, on a raised platform, we do come across images of the seven mothers, the *sapta-matrikas*, attended by Siva and Ganesa. These also appear, on stylistic grounds, to be of a comparatively earlier date than the carvings on the face of the temples near by.

From a consideration of these structural and ornamental details it would perhap be more nearly correct to assign a date to the temple which is three or four centuries on this side than that of Parasurameswar.

The need of structural analysis is hereby emphasized. Unless the space and time distribution of various architectural elements is previously determined by means of temples dated with the help of inscriptions, it would be premature to assign any date to a temple on the strength of a single characteristic, or of a small assemblage of characters, the index value of which has remained undetermined.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ORIGIN OF THE KARṆĀTA DYNASTY OF MITHILA

SHRI VIJAYAKANTA MISHRA

With the foundation of the Karṇāta Dynasty Mithila ushered in a new era—an "era of kingdom building"[1] an era of splendid glory and great achievements.

The founder of the Karṇāta Dynasty or Simraon dynasty—Nanyadeva was a Karṇāta Ksatriya, like his counterpart, the Senas in Bengal. The Madhainagar Grant of Laksamana Sena describes Samantasena as Kula Śiromani i.e. "head garland" of the Karṇāta Ksatriyas (JASBNS 1909, p. 471). This shows that the Senas came from Karṇāta in the Deccan and settled in Rāḍha in west Bengal, the Naihati grant of Vallalasena probably points, though indirectly, to exactly the same conclusion (E. I. XIV p. 159). As with the Senas of Bengal so with the Karṇātās of Mithila. That Nānya originally belonged to the Karṇāta country and was himself a Karṇāṭa Ksatriya is amply proved by the express reference to him and his dynasty in the Nepalese chronicle or Vamśāvaliś which is further confirmed by his title Karṇātakulabhusana—a title very similar to that of Sāmantasena—occuring in a versified commentary of Bharata's Nātyaśāstra, (from Chaps XXVIII to XXXIX) which deals with music in all its aspects related to theatre (Q. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I, p. 55-56). The commentary was composed by Nānya himself who gives his opinions on various theories purporting to different aspects of music, under different names—Nānyapati, Nānya, Mahāsāmantādhipati dharmāvaloka, Dharmādhārabhūpati, Mithilesha and karṇāṭakulabhusaṇa.

According to Jayaswal his name Nānya itself is not a Sanskrit word but a Sanskritised form of a word of Dravidian origin "Nanniya" which in Canarese means "affectionate", "true"—a prince of Karṇātaka. Prince Gangā is also called Nanniya Ganga in an inscription of the 10th Cen. A.D. (JBORS IX, 306; E.I. III 183; Levi, *Le Nepal* II, p. 201). Moreover the 11th Chap. of the commentary by Nānyadeva describes all the deśi rāgas, generally of Karṇāta type betraying the nativity of the author (JAHRS Vol. I, p. 62). From the Deopara inscription, we learn that about the period when Nānyadeva was ruling in Mithila, Bengal was conquered by Vijayasena, a cion of the Karṇāta race, (E.I. Vol. I, 307, I H Q VII 681). Thus "the Karṇātās had gained a prominent footing in the eastern part of Northern India towards the close of the 11th Cen. A.D. (I. H. Q. VII 681).

(1). JBORS IX, p. 300

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Different scholars have broached different theories as to the identity and coming of the Karṇātas. Various suggestions have been advanced explaining their sudden, rather quick unexpected intrusion, as a political factor, into Northern India. Jayaswal thinks that the Karṇāta settler, out of whom the Simraon dynasty arose, was either a remanant of Rajendra Cola's army or more likely a remanant of the Karṇātas allies of Karṇa, the Cedi king, son of Gāngeyadeva and sovereign of Mithila, who overran nearly the whole of Mithila about 1040-60 A.D. Jayaswal thus follows R.D. Banerji and accordingly believes that the Karṇātas were of Cola origin and that they had intruded into Northern India at the time of Rajendra Cola's expedition (The Palas of Bengal p. 99 and JBORS XI p. 306). Scholars have rejected this theory as "obsolete" and *entirely mistaken* (IHQ VII; 681; Asutosh S.V. Vol. III, p. 560 ff; Ray: Dynastic History I, p. 316, f. n. 3 & 4; Canda, Gandarajamala, p. XI; Sen, Historical Aspects Ins. Bengal, p. 454-55; History of Bengal Vol. I, p. 209).

According to M. Ramkrishna Kair, the Rāstrakutas were the Karṇātas. When their power declined in the Deccan in 970 A.D., they made a move towards the North and the East and established their dynasties in their new acquisitions till they were all finally swept away in the deluge of Muslim invasions in the 12th and 13th Cen. A.D. (Q, JAHRS Vol. I, p. 57). This statement is vague and confused for he does not explain the causes of this movement on the part of these Rāstrakutas cum Karṇātas. What prompted them to move towards only North and East and not to some other direction is a querry which has got to be answered before accepting this theory. The only correct and most convincing answer to this comes from Levi, who connects the rise of the Karṇāta power in Northern India with the victorious military expeditions of the Karṇāta emperors Someśwara II and his son Vikramāditya VI of the Calukya dynasty to which contemporary records bear ample evidence (IHQ VII, p. 683). From Bilhaṇas Vikramānkadeva Carita we learn that Someśwara I (1040-69-A.D.) stormed Dhārā, the capital of the Paramaras in Malva from which king Bhoja had to flee away. His son Vikramāditya VI, after subdining Ganda and Kamarupa led victorious expeditions against Northern India at least twice during his reign (1088-89 and 1098) [IHQ VII 683; Bombay Gaz. I. Pt. II, p. 452.] It would thus appear that a series of Rastrakuta and Calukya invasions of Northern India were certainly responsible for a slow but steady flow of the Karṇāta settlers into different parts of India, especially Magadha and Bengal.

In the latter part of the 11th Cen. A.D. they were stirred into new activities, making a bid for political supremacy, with the decay and disintegration of the ruling authorities. It is also probable that the Calukya invasion of Ganda by Karṇātakendu Vikramāditya, served as a new impetus to these ambitious chiefs (IA 1919 p. 114). The Nagpur Praśasti

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of Vikramāditya records that the Karṇātas associated themselves with the Cedi king Karṇa, who, with their help overran Malava like a sea (E.I. II 185). This alleance probably facilitated the movement, that soon after Karṇas death, made the Karṇāṭa warrior Nanya the ruler of Mithila. The growth of the political power of the Karṇāṭa Ksatriya in Bengal dates from about the same period. Its founders (founders of the Sena Dynasty) claimed to be the defenders of the Karṇāta Kulalaksami and declared themselves to be southerners. It has also been suggested that they were 1st established on the borders of Bengal by an invasion of the Calukya emperor Vikramāditya (Gaudarājāmala JL. XVI, p. 7, Sen H. Aspects Ins. Bengal 450).

M. Ramkrishna Kair raises another point. According to him Nanya was the brother of Kīrtiraja, whom we know from the Bodhagaya inscription of Tunga Dharmāvalaka (Q JAHRS I, 56-57). The doner is represented as the son of Kīrtiraja and the grandson of Nanna Gunāvaloka, a Rāstrakuta king. The significant word avaloka prompts him to identify Rāstrakuta Kīrtiraja as the brother of Nanyadeva, who is also described as Srisāmantadhipati Dharmavaloka Srimannāneyapati. We have no evidence to support this view. Had Nanya been a scion of the ruling Rastrakuta Dynasty, he would not have perhaps been referred to as simply Mahāsāmantadhipati and his penegyrist Śrīdhara must have taken particular care of glorifying his family in his incription (JBORS IX, p. 303-06). Śrīdhara no doubt glorifies his master, but makes no mention of his Rāstrakuta origin. Besides, full reliance on a particular epithet given to a particular king belonging rather seemingly to a particular family or dynasty is, in our view, not always safe and very often disastrously misleading, more so when we come across petty kings crowning themselves with high sounding epithets to merely assume an air of "world conqueror" or "earth conqueror".

Some scholars suggest that besides the Senas, another of the adventurers was probably one of the forefathers of Nanyadeva (Ray: *Dynastic* I, p. 203). This southern adventurers must have been a petty chief serving under some ruling power, who later overthrew his master and followed as a natural corollary to the invasion of Vikramāditya VI. It is significant to note that Nepal suddenly finds place into the composition of engravers or Praśastikāras of the Deccan Kings immediately from the time that followed the reign of Vikramāditya VI. The Pattadakal stone inscriptions dated in 1162 A.D. mention Nepal among the vassal states of the Calukya emperor Someśwara III. This region was actually conquered by Someśwars I and Vikramāditya VI (IHQ VII 682 ff). The fact, however, remains that these Kalacuris pushed up their conquest as far as Nepal and established their authority there. The Kalacuri Bijjala, who defeated and overthrew Tailappa III, the son of Someśwara III,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is highly praised in an epigraph (C. 1200 A.D.) for having destroyed the stability of Nepal. We have yet another inscription of about the same time discovered at Managali, which represents Yadava Jaitugi (C. 1191-1210) claiming to have defeated the leaders of the armies of Nepal. It is, therefore, probable that the forefathers of Nanya established themselves as feudatory chief in Tirhut, on the border of Nepal, as a result of successive raids by the great Calukya prince to the foothills of the Himalayan range. In course of time, probably just after the withdrawl of the strong Calukya armies from these regions, they rose to prominence, broke off their allegiance and established themselves as rulers of Tirhut. Nanya became the 1st sovereign ruler of the territory and crowned himself with the epithets "Mithileśvāra" and "Kariātakulabhusaṇa".

ORIGIN OF THE CANDELLA DYNASTY

Dr. Nemai Sadhan Bose

The earliest traditions of the Candella family as recorded in their inscriptions trace its origin to the moon, implying that it was connected with the ancient lunar race of Ksatriyas. The Bateśvar inscription of Paramārdi states, "From the eye-lotus of Atri was born the god[1] (who is) the ornament of the beloved husband of the daughter of the lord of mountains. From him sprang this race which has shone with its bright fame, as if (decorated) with pearls. In it there were born, of pleasing conduct, the Chandrātreya princes, who by their powerful massive arms have crushed the host of enemies"[2]. Another Candella inscription records that Brāhmaṇ from his own mind created Marichi and other sages. The most distinguished among these sages was Atri, from whose eye sprang the moon and whose son was the sage Candrātreya the progenitor of the distinguished race called after him, which will rule the earth as long as the moon lasts.[3] Other Candella inscriptions also allude to this same story.

Traditional stories also trace the origin of the Candellas to the moon. According to one legend, originally given by the bard Chand, the Candellas were descendee from Hemāvatī, daughter of a Brāhmaṇa Purohita of Indrajit, the Gahrwar Rājā of Bānāras. "Hemāvatī was very beautiful, and one day when she went to bathe in the Rati Talab, she was seen and

1. "The moon, borne on the head of Siva, the husband of Parvati", Epg. Ind., Vol. I, p. 212, fn. 50.
2. Epg. Ind. Vol. I, pp. 208-209, vs. 3-4.
3. Epg. Ind. Vol. I, p. 138, vs. 8-12.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

embraced by Chandramā, the god of the moon, as he was preparing to return to the skies. Hemāvatī cursed him. "Why do you curse me?" said Chandramā, "your son will be lord of the earth, and from him will spring a thousand branches". Hemāvatī enquired, "How shall my dishonour be effaced when I am without a husband?" "Fear not" replied Chandramā, "Your son will be born on the bank of the Karnāvatī River; then take him to Khajurāyā, and offer him as a gift and perform a sacrifice. In Mahoba he will reign, and will become a great king. He will possess the philosopher's stone, and will turn iron into gold. On the hill of Kālañjara he will build a fort. When your son is 16 years of age you must perform a Bhāṇḍa Jag to wipe away your disgrace, and then leave Bānarās to live at Kālañjar."

According to this prophecy, Hemāvatī's child, like another Chandramā was born....At 16 years of age, he killed a tiger when Chandramā appeared to him and presented him with the philosopher's stone and taught him polity (rājnīt). Then he built the fort of Kālañjar, after which he went to Kharjurpur, where he performed a sacrifice (Jag or Yajñya) to do away with his mother's shame, and built 85 temples.... Lastly, he went to Mahotsave, or Mohoba, the place of Chandramā's 'great festival', which he made his capital"[1].

There is yet another legend regarding the origin of the dynasty. According to this, the original birthplace of the Candellas was Kālañjara. "The king of that fort one day asked his family priest what was the day of the month. He answered that it was the full moon (pūranmāsī), whereas it was really the Amāvas or the last day of the dark fortnight. When the Pandit became aware of the mistake which he had committed, he went home and fell into deep distress. When his daughter learned the cause of his sorrow, she prayed to the moon to appear at once full, and thus justify her father's words. The moon appeared, and as a reward lay with her, and when her father heard of this he expelled her from his house: so she wandered in the jungle, and there her child was born. There a Banāphar Rājput saw her and took her to home. Her father was so ashamed of the affair that he turned himself into a stone, and as his name was Mani Rām, he is now worshipped as Maniyā Deva"[2] The girls's son became the founder of the dynasty.

Modern scholars do not place any reliance upon the connection of the Candellas with the lunar race of Ksatriyas. Dr. Vincent Smith called

1 Arch. Survey Rept. Vol. II, pp. 445-446. For a slightly different story see F. N. Wright's "The Chandel Thakurs", Ind. Antiquary, Vol. II, pp. 33-34.

2 The Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. II, pp. 196-197. This legend was compiled by Crooke from notes of two school teachers of Sumerpur and Mahoba.- Ibid, p. 196. fn. 3.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the story of Chand a 'silly legend', the only significance of which is in its "implied admission that the pedigree of the clan required explanation, which was best attained by including it in the group of 'moon descended' Rājputs, and adding respectability by inventing a Brāhmaṇ ancestress".[1] Smith thought that the Candellas were in origin a non-Aryan people, associated with the aboriginal Gonds and Bhars. For his assumption Smith depended on the following arguments. Firstly, the Candellas are admittedly of impure descent, and have no connection with the immigrants from the north-west, such as the Hūnas, who are largely represented by the 'fire descended' Rājputs, such as the Cāhamānas. Secondly, the local traditions of the many villages over which the Candellas ruled, mention the Gonds, Kols, Bhils, Bhars, Chāmars etc., and other low caste and outcaste people as the original occupiers of the land. For these reasons Smith believed that the Candellas were "a small clan who supplied the members of the ruling dynasty and much of the personnel of the local court, but who never supplanted the tribes that were in occupation of the soil previous to the rise of the dynasty." Thirdly, in Mahoba there is a temple of Maniyā Deo, the tutelary deity of the Candella kings. Smith stated that the image of this deity is akin to those of the Gond deities, a fact which further supports his assumption. Lastly, the poet Chand associates Maniyāgarh (traditionally the original home of the Candellas) with a Gond chieftain. Moreover, the story of the marriage of Durgāvatī of the Candella line with the Rājā of Garha Moṇḍla, according to Smith, shows the prevailing intercourse between the Candellas and Gonds, even as late as the 16th century. Relying on these arguments, Smith strongly suggested that the myth of the union of Hemāvatī with the moon was invented to conceal the fact that the Candellas really sprang from an aboriginal stock. As the Gaharwar preceded the Candellas, Smith believed that it is very likely that the Candellas are the result of crossing Gaharwar with Bhar and Gond blood. He, however, was more inclined to the view that the Candellas were originally Hinduised Gonds, but added that, as the Gonds and Bhars are said to be very closely connected, the question is of no importance.[2]

Mr. R. V. Russell supports the view of Smith and takes the Candellas to be a section of one of the indigenous tribes which rose to power. But while Smith inlcined to the view that the Candellas were originally Gonds, Russell thinks that they sprang from the aborigianl Bhars.[3] He puts forward the following arguments in support of his conclusion.

1. Ind. Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 136-137.
2. Jr. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XLVI, Pt. I, pp. 220-236. Ind. Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 136-137.
3. Tribes and Castes of the Centra.l Provinces of India, Vol. IV, pp. 441.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

According to traditions, the Gonds come from the South and practically never penetrated into Bundelkhand, Saugor and Damoh being almost their furthest limit to the north-west. The Gonds have no tradition of their dominance in Bundelkhand and their existence is first recorded several centuries after the commencement of the Candella dynasty. Unlike the Gonds, the Bhars were famous builders. This is supported by Elliot's remarks that "common tradition assigns to the Bhars the possesion of the whole tract from Gorakhpur to Bundelkhand and Saugor, and many old stone forts, embankments and subteranean caverns in Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Allahabad, which are ascribed to them, would seem to indicate no inconsiderable advance in civilisation". Russell, on the basis of local tradition, believes that the Gaharwars with whom the Candellas are legendarily connected, were an aristocratic section of the Bhars. Smith himself said that the shrine of Maniyā Deo, discovered by him in the Hamirpur district, was in a village reputed formerly to have been held by Bhars,[1] The instance of the marriage of Rānī Durgāvatī in the 16th century, and Chand's story of Candella Rājā Kīrat Singh's hunting at Maniyāgarh with the Gond Rājā of Garha-Maṇḍla can hardly be satisfactory evidences of a racial connection between the two tribes. Moreover, the modern Candellas are numerous in Mirzapur, which was formerly the chief seat of the Bhars, while the Gonds have never been either numerous or important in Mirzapur. Lastly, Russell suggests that, "the Candellas may have been simply a local branch of the Gaharwars, who obtained a territorial designation from Chanderi, or in some other manner, as has continually happened in the case of other clans. The Gaharwars were probably derived from the Bhars".[2]

The view that the Candellas are by origin Gonds or Ghars, has not remained unchallenged. Dr. C.V. Vaidya has taken strong exception to it and has vehemently criticised Smith.[3] About the legend of the origin of the Candellas, Vaidya says that such stories have been invented in India by poets and bards from Vedic times, and lead to no inference either as to the baseness or nobility of the hero's birth. These stories are to be set aside as mere fancies. Vaidya points out that the Candellas are not regarded as a clan of impure descent. Among the list of 36 Royal families mentioned by Chand, the name Chhand is among the very first.

1. JASB, Vol. XLVI, p. 233.

2. T. C. C. P. I., Vol. IV, pp. 440-443. W. C. Bennett says that the Candellas were descendents of a Bhar king, who himself admitted as a Kayasth into the Hindu Caste system, and whose descendents were promoted to be Chhattries and were subsequently known as "Chandels" - I. A. Vol. I, pp. 265-6.

3. HMHI, Vol. II, pp. 130-133.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Vaidya believes that this name stands for Candella. Moreover, the name, 'Chandel' is mentioned by Tod as occuring in the Kumārapāla Sanskrit Mss. list incorporated by him in his table of lists giving the names of the 36 traditional Rājput families. Epigraphic evidence shows intermarriage between the Candellas and another well known Rājput dynasty.[1] Vaidya does not agree with Smith that because the Candellas originated in the midst of the Gonds they were Gonds themselves. He says that the instinct of the Rājput leads him to go into wild regions inhabited by aborigines and carve out a small kingdom for himself if he has no room in the Aryan country. Referring to the belief of Candella Zamindars of Mahoba that their family are autochthonous,[2] Vaidya says that when we know from history that the Candellas have been in Mahoba for nearly one thousand years, it is not surprising that the Zamindars believe that they have been there from the beginning of time. Vaidya says "In fact the Chandels have been in Gond land at Mainyāgarh even from before their coming to Mahoba. When they came there we do not know; perhaps they came there during Kūshan or Hūn invasions of the Aryan land, viz. the Panjab and the Gangetic Valley". . He rejects Smith's argument based on the tutelary deity Maniyā Deo (or Devī) and says that the statement that the deity is akin to Gond deities is vague, and even if it be accepted, it does not prove that the Candellas are themselves Gonds. The story that in the 16th Century Maniyāgarh was associated with a Gond Chief has nothing to do with the origin of the Candella dynasty. Lastly, Vaidya says it is very strange that the story of Rānī Durgāvatī, which proves the greatness and purity of the dynasty, should be distorted by Smith to prove the exact contrary.[3]

One thing that emerges very clearly from these arguments is that the views of the scholars are largely based on legends, traditions and accounts of later writers. The arguments of both Vaidya and Smith are not without flaws. Vaidya's objection to the supposition that the myth of Hemāvatī's union with the moon was an attempt to conceal the low origin of the Candellas, is quite reasonable. Moreover, as pointed out by both Russell and Vaidya, the story of Kīrat Singh's hunting at Maniyāgarh with a Gond Chieftain and Rāni Durgāvatī's marriage are far from satisfactory evidences. Similarly, Vaidya's arguments are by no means convicting. Even if we accept his identification of 'Chhand' with Candella, it is to be remembered that Chand's epic is unreliable and very late. The Kumārpāla Carita was written in the 12th Century A.D., by which time the Candellas had perhaps succeeded in passing themselves off as good Ksatriyas. Another

1. E. I. - Vol. I, p. 126. Vs. 21.
2. I. A. Vol. XXXVII, P. 137.
3. HMHI - Vol. II, pp. 130-133.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

weakness of Vaidya's arguments is that he has mainly tried to counteract the view of Smith, rather than put forward evidence to support his own hypothesis that the Candellas were originally Ksatriyas and that they probably came to Mahoba during the Kūsāṇa or Hūṇa invasions of India.

Whatever may by the weakness of Smith's arguments, his assumption that the Candellas sprang from aboriginal Gonds and Bhars seems quite feasible. Kielhorn's suspicion that the name Candrātreya taken by the members of the family is a later word, which owes its origin to the desire of having a more Sanskritic name[1] supports Smith's theory. Dr. R. C. Majumdar also subscribes to Smith's view. Analysing the cause of the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas in the early mediaeval period, he suggests that the Candellas, though ranked as Ksatriyas, were originally aborigines and were later incorporated in Aryan Society. As these kings had no glorious traditions behind them, they looked up to the Brāhmaṇas for the social prestige and status which only the Brāhmaṇs could give.[2]

It is also significant that both the legends connect the Gaharwars with the origin of the Candellas. Considering the close associations of the Gonds, Bhars, Gaharwars and early Candellas and especially the similarities between the Gaharwars and the Candellas as builders of embankments one cannot but support a relation between the two.

We are inclined to agree with Russell that the Candellas probably sprang from the Bhars and not from the Gonds. Not only are Russell's arguments more convincing, but even Smith agrees that, "it is, however, well known that the Bhars were once numerous in Banda, and the information which I have collected proves that in former times they lived in every part of the Hamirpur district, and were even found in the Jhansi district west of the Dhasan River."[3]

Probably the strongest argument in favour of this view is the similarity between the Bhars and the Candellas as great builders, which suggests that the latter continued the traditions of the former. In conclusion a note of caution should be added. As has already been said, the views on the origin of the dynasty are based on local traditions, legends and later literary works. There is really no evidence reliable enough to lead to any definite conclusion. The opinions expressed are mere hypotheses,

1. IA. Vol. XVIII, p. 237.
2. Ancient India - p. 503.
3. JASB, Vol. XLVI, pt. I, p. 227.

The former presence of the Bhars in the Hamirpur district is attested by local names in every paragana. Of the many a few examples are: the old name of the town of Sumerpur (in Paragana Sumerpur) is Bhorua, and in paraganas of Maudha, Panwari - Jaitpur - and Rath, respectively we find localities named Bharsawan, Bharwara, or Barkhari, and Bhanraura Khera; and in several of these cases the evidence of the name is confirmed by that of tradition. - Ibid. pp. 227-228.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and the possible truth may ultimately lie in Smith's suggestion that as the Gonds and the Bhars seem to have been closely akin, the Candellas may have shared both Bhar and Gond blood,[1] and we may add, Gaharwar as well.

A REFERENCE TO KING ADISURA

SHRI A. THAKUR

A Rāḍhīya or a Vārendra Brahmin of Bengal would trace his discent from one of the five learned Bramins said to be brought to Bengal by King Adisura, a Ksatriaya king, in order to perform some sacrifice. Though the *Kulagranthas* give some accounts of the king and his sacrifice, modern historians, however, do not attach much importance to these accounts in the absence of any strictly reliable evidence—epigraphical or otherwise.[2]

In course of our study in Indian philosophy we came across an interesting reference to king Adisura, which we propose to present to the world of scholars for anything it is worth. Vachaspati Mishra, the celebrated philosopher of Mithila while commenting on the Vidhiviveka, a Mīmamsā work says निजभुजवीर्यमास्थाय शूरानादिशूरो जयति—Kasi Ed. p. 290 —Having recourse to the strength of his own arms, Adisura conquers the warriors.

In this connection we should take the following points into considerations. This clearly refers to a reputed king by name. And it may not be quite unlikely to suppose that Vachaspati, a close neighbour of Bengal, refers to a king of Bengal as none of that name is known to have flourished elsewhere in or near his own land. One may go further and think that

1. IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 136.

In his article on the origin of the Lunar and Solar Tribes, Baden Powell says, "Another considerable group (especially in Oudh and the North-West Provinces) escape the effort to trace them very far, because their only tangible tradition derives the existing clan from a single adventurous Chief, whose name is sometimes suggestive of non Aryan origin, but that is all. Once more, it is practically certain that several clans of respectable palce in history, are really of mixed blood—the descendants of some well connected ancestors who married a female of inferior rank, or of foreign birth, or of no rank at all." To such a clan according to Baden Powell, belongs the Candellas. He divides the Rajput tribes into five categories. (i) Yadubansi, (ii) Reputed Lunar (Candrabansi or Sombansi), (iii) Reputed Solar (Surajbansi), (iv) Agnikula, and (v) Unknown. Baden Powell puts the Candellas in the last category and thinks them to be of mixed origin, and certainly not Sombansi—JRAS, 899 pp. 536, 555-63;

2. Cf. History of Bengal, Vol I. Dacca University, pp. 306, 397, 580-81, 588, 591, 625-33. Mr. P. Paul wants to identify Adisimha of Dudhapani Rock Inscription with King Adisura. Early History of Bengal, p. 35.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Adisura was a contemporary of Vachaspati (10th century A.D.) as the present tense in the verb *Jayati* would seem to indicate.

Professor Dinesha Chandra Bhattacharya is of opinion that the reference mentioned above is to one Adisura of Mithila and not to the king of Bengal.[1] But he has not adduced any evidence. We on our part on further enquiry could hear of no Sura dynasty past or present, in Mithila. As Vachaspati mentions king Nrga as his patron it seems improbable that he will mention some other contemporary king of the same land.

A FEW CHINESE TRAVELLERS VISITING INDIA DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

PROF. PRABHAS CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

The cultural tie between China and India, as is well known, dates back from the very early centuries and the records left by celebrated Chinese traveller-historians like Fa-hsien, Yuan-chwang, I-tsing and others are undoubtedly regarded as the outstanding sources of our knowledge of the Sino-Indian cultural relations in the early period of history. But much less is known with regard to India's relation with China during the medieval period of our history. Leaving aside the above mentioned celebrites of China, several other individuals from China paid visits to India on their holy pilgrimage from time to time during the period from the 8th to 13th-14th centuries of the Christian Era and their activities, though not so pronounced as the earlier Chinese travellers, are none the less appreciable for the study of Sino-Indian relation during this period. These later pilgrim-travellers also contributed in their own way to the cultural unification of India with China and an attempt is here made to notice a few of those celebrated Chinese pilgrim-historians, if they might be so called, who visited this holy land during the time.

Professor Liang-Chi-Chao[2] has noticed, in his book, 'The study of Chinese History", as many as one hundred and eightyseven of such traveller-pilgrims who had visited or attempted to visit India on different occasions during the period from the 6th to the 8th centuries. Many of them could not reach India and died on their way to holy pilgrimage to Jambudvipa. During the 10th and 12th-13th centuries, there was a regular influx of traveller-pilgrimes from China visiting India. Between A.D. 964 and 976, it is said, some three hundred Chinese scholars came

1. Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika Vol LIII

2. Chia-Luen Lo: Chinese sources for Indian History (Indian Historical Records Commission, 1948).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to India.[1] During the reign of the Chinese emperor T'ai-Tsu of the Sung dynasty 300 monks left China to visit the holy places of India.[2]

Tao-Yuen, a monk from China, came to India during the Han period and after having spent six years in India returned to China in 965 A.D. He brought with him to China several Palm-leaf manuscripts of the Buddhist texts and presented them to the Sung emperor T'ai-Tsu who eagerly enquired of him about his journey in India and the monk explained to the emperor everything of his journey and of his stay in India in detail. Another monk, during the same period came here on pilgrimage from China. His name was Ki-Ye. He also wrote an account of his journey in India.[3] Emperor T'ai-Tsu being encouraged by these two monks Tao-Yuen and Ki-Ye passed a royal mandate to despatch some more Chinese scholar monks as emissaries to India and also to procure Indian philosophical texts. About 157 scholars from China responded to the emperor's call and agreed to come to India inspite of the hazardous journey. They visited India during the end of the 10th century and collected many Buddhist Manuscripts. This cultural mission was led by a scholar named Hing-Chin and the emperor T'ai-Tsu furnished the mission with a letter of royal authority, asking the respective states through which it would pass, to offer all sorts of privileges and provide guides for the members of the mission so that they might not feel any difficulty during their journey.

Another Chinese pilgrim-monk named Kuang-Yuen visited India during the period of A.D. 976 to 997. He was a native of Ch'engtou. After returning from India Kuang-Yuen produced the second Sung emperor T'ai-Tsung a letter from the Indian king Mo-si-nang who is generally identified with Mahasena. This letter speaks highly of the Sino-Indian alliance during this period. King Mahasena sent through Kuan-Yuen several presents including a 'relic of Sakya' for the Chinese emperor T'ai-tsung of the Sung dynasty. Following the foot steps of Kuan-Yuen, another scholar from China named Fa-Yu came to India in search of knowledge and to attain merit by visiting holy places in India. He returned to

1. Mukherji, Indian Literature in China & the Far East, pp. 319 ff.

2. The life history of these 300 monks are recorded in *Fo-tsu-t'ung- chi*, a history of Chinese Buddhism (Nanjio, Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, No. 1661, also, Appendix III, 68). This book was compiled by Chu-pwan, a T'ien-tai priest of the 13th century, and also recorded in "the Annals of the Sung dynasty" *Sung-shi*, composed by T'o-t'o a Mongol. See also, Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 209-10 and Melanges de geographie asiatique, pp 169-78.

3. See, Schlegel, Memories du comite sinico-japonais, XXI, 1893, pp. 35-64 (Itinerary to the Western Countries of Wang-nieh); also, Huber, Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, 1902,p. 256-58; E. Chavannes, ibid 1904,p. 75-81(L'It-eneraire de Ki-Ye)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

China in A.D. 982 with a number of Palm-leaf manuscripts from India and presented them to the emperor. Another Chinese monk named T'se-houn visited during that period the holy Buddhist places of Bodhgaya and Nalanda along with a Turkish(?) monk named Mi-tan-lo.

Thus there was very frequent intercourse between China and India during 10th-11th centuries and specially the Buddhist Chaityas of Bodhgaya, as the records[1] show, were continually visited by a good number of pilgrim-scholars and travellers from China. There were also pious donors coming from China and donating sums for the worship of the images, building chaityas, repairing the religious establishments etc. and some of them also returned to China after having completed their studies of Indian philosophy and religion. During the most flourishing period of Indian sovereignty under the Pala kings in the 11th century, Buddhist devoute from China came to India in batches. They performed certain special works of merit by erecting stone-stupas which testifies to the present day the Sino-Indian artistic and architectural achievements of those days. There are some five Inscriptions discovered by Mr. Beglar of the Archaeological Survey of India around the Bodhgaya temples during the year 1878-79. These inscriptions are written in Chinese and are perhaps the only Chinese inscriptions so far discovered in India. The inscription of Chi-I reveals that he was a priest of the great Han dynasty. He visited India twice and came to the Magadha country to pay respect to and worship the Diamond-Seat (Vajrasana) of Buddha and other Buddhist relics of India. During his second visit to this country, he was accompanied by a number of other monks of whom Hwei-tsei, Tsi-I and Kwang-fung are mentioned. Another Chines inscription from Bodhgaya belonging to the same group mention the name of the Priest Yun-Shu. He came from the Western River (Yellow river) country of China during the Sung period in A.D. 1021. He caused to build a stone-stupa in honour of the ten thousand Buddhas some 30 paces to the north of the Bodhi-terrace and had set up a votive record and hymn of praise in Chinese. This inscription also mentions another Chinese priest named Chiang Hsia-pias who had come to India earlier than Yun-Shu and on three occasions had spent the season of fast. Yun-Shu became associated with Chiang Hsia-pias during his first visit to Bodhgaya. During his second visit to India Yun-Shu was accompanied by two other monks from China named I-ching and I-lin. They belonged to the 'Monastery of Eatabished Doctrine in the High Street of the Eastern Capital',[2] and they also had set up a separate inscrip-

1. See Cunningham's Mahabodhi, pp. 68ff.; M. Chavannes; monograph on Mahabodhi orginally appeared in the Revue de l'histoire des Religions, Vol. XXXIV., No. 1, 1896 under the title Les inscriptions chinoises Bodhgaya

2. Cunningham, Mahabodhi, p. 71-72; Barua, Gaya and Bodhgaya, p. 199f.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tion at Bodhgaya which dates in the 6th year of the reign of an emperor of the Great Sung dynasty, roughly corresponding to A.D. 1030. These two Chinese priests presented, as the inscription records, a gold embroidered hoy robe to be spread over the Diamond-seat (vajrasana) of Buddha and had also erected a shrine (stupa). Yu-pin was another Chinese priest belonging to the same group and he also acted in the same manner as was done by his other fellow companions coming from the Eastern Capital. Another Chinese inscription from Bodhgaya records the activities of a Buddhist priest named Hui-wen who belonged to the Great Sung period. His inscription dates 2nd year of Ming Tao (A.D. 1033 Circa). He visited India with a charter from the Imperial Majesties the Emperor and the Empress of the Great Sung dynasty and was commanded by them to proceed to the kingdom of Magadha to erect a memorial mound (stupa) beside the Diamond-seat and the Bodhi-terrace in memory of the His departed Imperial Majesty T'ai Tsung.

All these little known travellers and pilgrims of China being attracted by the glory of India visited this country during the medieval period of our history and had made considerable contribution towards the Sino-Indian amity and establishment of international relations between India and China for centuries. They used to come to India by land routes which was very much hazardous; still they had defied the frown natural calamities and waded their ways into this holy land of India to fulfil their mission. But as time went on and with the development of maritime activities of the people they took recourse to the sea routes for India and came to India with purpose of establisheing trade and commercial relations with this country; and naturally there appeared an ebb in the Sino-Indian cultural and intellectual flow since people having other interests than religious fervour and possessing lesser intellect would come to this country.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MATRIARCHAL SYSTEM IN KERALA

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., D. Phil (Oxon)

After Sir Henry Maine expounded the Patriarchal Theory trying to prove that the earliest pattern of family relationship was of the patriarchal type, several scholars have pursued further the study of this subject. But their conclusions are at variance with the findings of Maine. Bachoffen and McLennan were the foremost in opposing the Patriarchal Theory; and they were followed by writers like Dr. Lewis H. Morgan and Prof.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Robertson Smith, all of whom upheld the priority of mother-right. They showed that in respect of many early communities descent was reckoned on the mother's side and, on this basis, argued that in ancient times when marriage had not developed as a fixed institution, promiscuity was the order of the day, and that matriarchal descent was its natural corollary. As time passed, the more advanced societies moved on to the patriarchal stage, while the others retained the matriarchal succession, mother's supreme authority, a flexible pattern of marriage and even polyandry. The survival of matriarchal societies in North America, Oceania, Central Australia, South East Asia and in North East as well as South West India is indicated in support of this view. The earliest record of mother-right is believed to come from Lycia, where, according to Herodotus, the people took the mother's name and determined childrens' status on the basis of the mother's status. In Europe, among all the people of antiquity mother-right is believed to have prevailed, the clearest evidence of which is provided by the Basques of Spain. The Arabs and the Hebrews, as well as the primitive people of the East Indies were all of the matriarchal type.

From these data it was presumed that mother-right and the matriarchal system existed only among people in a low scale of culture. In support of this, evidence of transition from mother-right to father-right in several parts of the world has been indicated. Thus there is historical proof that in Sudan, over 500 years ago, the Beja, who are patrilineal, kept their genealogies in the female line and transmitted property to the sons of sister or daughter. Again, in Melanesia and in parts of America, there is clear evidence of a transition from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions, the change being still in progress in certain parts of Melanesia.

But there is the danger of hasty generalisation on the basis of a few examples. If the change has been from matriarchy to patriarchy in respect of certain people, it has been just the reverse in respect of several others.[1] Indeed F. Graebner and W. Schmidt would have us believe that the tendency all the world over has been in the direction of a change from father-right to mother-right. Obviously this is far too sweeping, and it is important to remember that human society is not the product of a simple process of evolution. A categorial assertion that the earliest family was universally of a single pattern only, seems unwarranted.

Equally open to objection is the assumption that all people among whom mother-right survives, belong to a low level of culture. The matrilineal Troquois and Pueblo Indians of North America, for example, are unquestionably some of the most advanced peoples of that continent. The Nāyars of Kerala form yet another example illustrating this.

1. In Central Australia there live a very primitive people who are patriarchal.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Nāyars have been following the matriarchal system for several centuries. Descent is reckoned on the mother's line; authority is on the mother's side, marriage is of the matrilocal pattern and the family organisation typically matriarchal. It is well known that the Nāyars are a remarkably advanced people. Several views have been put forward explaining the origin of the Matriarchal system among the Nāyars. Dr. Ehrenfels has recently suggested that the Nāyars are probably descendants of the Indus Valley culture belonging to the 3rd millenium B.C.[1] His grounds for this postulate are that the Nāyar women used to leave their breasts uncovered, that the bath in a Nāyar house was always an elaborately constructed unit, and that the Siva-Sakti cult had a wide prevelence among the Nāyars. These features were found among the Indus people, who were, according to Dr. Ehrenfels, matriarchal in their organisation. In spite of the vast learning brought to bear on this comparison, it must be admitted that his theory is not convincing.[2] Even assuming that a few similarities in respect of the two people proved racial connection between them, it is by no means definite that the Indus people were matriarchal in their organisation.

Another theory is that the Nāyars are indigenous to Kerala and that, like many early people they have been following the matriarchal system from primitive times. But the literary evidence does not support this theory. The Śangam Classics, which are now ascribed to the early centuries of the Christian Era tend to show that the kings and people of Kerala were Makkattāyis (those who trace descent from father). 'Padirruppattu' and 'Cilappadikāram' which pre-eminently concern themselves with the people and kings of Kerala do not show that the Cera kings of the Śangam Age had adopted Marumakkattayam (i.e. the system which traces descent through the female—mother or sister). The views held by Sri M. Srinivasa Aiyangar and Sri S. Somasundara Bharati that in the Śangam Age the Ceras followed Marumakkattāyam are not really proved by the available data. These views seem to be attempts at reading into the past the known facts of a later age.[3] In 'Padirruppattu', which relates exclusively to the Ceras, Śelvakkadunko is addressed as 'Śāndor Perumahan' viz., the glorious son of illustrious ancestors. This reference obviously suggests patrilineal descent of the royal line. Again, the same work

1. Baron Omar Rolf Ehrenfels: 'Mother-Right in India', pp. 179 ff.

2. There are differences in other respects. The Nayars were a rural folk mainly engaged in agriculture. The Indus Culture on the other hand, was urban. Street formation which was typical of the Indus civilisation is conspicuously absent among the Nayars.

3. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar: Tamil Studies, pp. 103 ff. and Sen Tamil. Vol. XX-VII. See also the well-reasoned criticisms of these views by K. G. Desha Aiyer in his "Cera kings of the Sangam Period", pp. 73-5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

describes Ceran Cenguṭṭuvan as the descendant of the Cera, obviously Imayavaramban, who imprinted the mark of his bow on the Himalayas.[1] This reference, too, supports the view that direct patrilineal ancestry was the practice in vogue.

In respect of the later period, too, the known data, beginning from the 9th century A.D., show that the Makkattāyam system continued in usage in the royal families of Kerala. It is learnt that Kulaśekhara Alvār and his successors who ruled over Mahodayapuram in the 9th and 10th centuries were all Makkattayis. The evidence in support of this is obtained from the work called "Laghubhaskariya Vyākhyānam" written by Sankaranarayanan, who was a luminary of Sthāṇu Ravi's court. Still later, belonging to the 12th century A.D., there is a poetic work known as 'Mūsikavameām', which was composed by Ātulan in the court of the Quilon king, Śrīkanṭhan. This literary source[2] provides clear proof of the continuance of patrilineal succession in the royal line. For example, the poem shows that Kuñcivarman was succeeded by his son, Iśānavarman, who in his turn, was followd by his son Nrparāman. Candravarman, the son of Nripavarman became the next ruler, and thus the line continued from father to son. The poet describes the history of these monarchs who had lived within a hundred years of his period and it is presumable that his account of the relationship of one king to another could not have been inaccurate.

Besides, there is abundant evidence showing that, during the period extending from the 9th to the 11th century A.D., dynasties like those of the Kulaśekharapperumāḷs, Kolattirīs and Āye, all ruling in different parts of Kerala, contracted matrimonial relationship with the royal families of the Pāṇḍyas and Coḷas. It is learnt from the Śinnamanūr Plates that the wife of the Pāṇḍyan king, Parāntaka Vīranārāyana, was the Cera princess called 'Vānavan Mādevi'. Their son Rājasimha succeeded his father to the Pāṇḍyan throne; but it is significant that he claimed no right whatever for the Cera dominion, although he was the nephew of the Cera monarch. Again, it is learnt from the Anbil Plates of Sundara Coḷa that among the wives of Parāntaka I Coḷa (907-53 A.D.) one was a Kerala princess. It is not likely that these intermarriages would have taken place if the family organisation and system of inheritance of the Keraḷa rulers were different from those of the Pāṇḍyas or Coḷas.

Besides, the manner of specifying the names of individuals in lithic and other documents confirms that, down to the 12th century A.D., the

1. Imayatu vanavar marula malai vir puttiya vanavar tonral.

2. I am indebted to Sri Ilamkulam P. N. Kunjan Pillai for the data connected with the early Venad kings. See his Malayalam book entiled "Kerala Caritratile Iruladanna Yedugal." pp. 75-96. See also Dr. S. K. Nayar's "Samskara Kedaram" (Malayalam) pp. 51-84.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Makkattāyam pattern continued to be in vogue. Several inscriptions of this period reveal that a person's name was mentioned in association with that of his or her father unlike in the matriarchal system, where the names are found associated with those of their uncles and the names of females with those of their mothers. Murugan Cendi, the wife of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, the Āyeking of the 9th century A.D., is mentioned in the Huzur Office Plates as Tenganāṭu Kilavan Makal Murugan Cendi.[1] Turning to the 10th century A.D., it is found that the name of a lady, probably the wife of Śrīvallabhan Kodai, figuring in the Māmbaḷḷi Plate is stated as 'Tirukkalayāpurattu Ādiccan Umayammai', obviously meaning Umayammai, the daughter of Ādiccan who belonged to Tirukkalayāpuram.[2] A 13th century inscription of Kathinankulam refers to a Veṇāḍ princess as Vīra Rāman Umayammai.[3] Similarly the Kiḷimānūr epigraph of 1168 A.D. refers to Maṇikaṇṭam Mādhavi and Maṇikaṇṭam Umayammai.[4] It may be argued that the first name in each of these groups represents the name of the uncle and not of the father, because in later times it is the uncle's or Kāraṇavan's name which appears in such a context. But that doubt is dispelled by another piece of epigraphic evidence. The Kaṇḍiyūr inscription of 1218 A.D. records that the king of Oḍanāḍu, called Irāman Kodavarmana, reconstructed the Śiva temple of the place according to the command of Iravi Keraḷavarman, the Veṇāḍ king.[5] And. there is fortunately another epigraph of Kodavarma in the same temple[6] which clearly states that Kodavarma was the son of Rāma. Thus it appears that, at any rate, down to the 13th century, it was the practice to associate the father's name with that of a man or woman. This indicates that the line of succession as well as the pattern of family organisation of the Venad kings must have been of the patriarchal order.

Rulers apart, the common people, including Nāyars, appear to have followed Makkattāyam till about the 13th century in Veṇāḍ and South Kerala. Inscriptions which record Kārāṇmai (hereditary) services state that on the death of a Kārāṇmai holder, i.e. one who had to render the specified service, his wife and children would become the inheritors of the right. For instance, the Tiruveṇvandūr record of the 10th century A.D.

1. TAS., I. p. 2. The Huzur Office Plate of Vikramaditya-varaguna.

2. TAS., IV, pp. 6-9. The Travancore Epigraphist's surmise that Adiccan was the name of her uncle lacks support. It is another attempt at reading into the past the present position. But even now the uncle's name is not associated with that of ladies. The epigraphist explains it away as a possible varient of the later Marumakkattayam pracice.

3. TAS., IV. p. 70

4. TAS, V. p. 80

5. TAS., I. p. 290

6. TAS., Vol I p. 294 "Ramajah Kodavarma".

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

prescribes that when the person who has the Kārāṇami right to supply ghee to the temple dies his progeny are to take up the responsibility and render the service.[1] Again, the Kaviyūr inscription of 951 A.D. speaks in the same strain.[2] An epigraph of Peruneyil, belonging probably to the 11th century A.D. specifies how the Kārāṇmai right was inherited from Yetiran yaviran by his progeny.[3] It is notable that even a 13th century epigraph of Tiruppālkaḍal adverts to the prevalent practice of the son inheriting the rights and responsibilities of the father.[4]

However, it is of great significance to observe that in Veṇaḍ, beginning from the 12th century the inscriptional evidence indicates the advent of Maruma kkattāyam. The Tiruvalla inscription reveals that in the execution of documents pertaining to lands an individual and his nephews were the conjoint signatories.[5] This shows that, in South Keraḷa at any rate, the change was taking place, though only gradually, from about the 12th century onwards.

There is a local tradition that the Veṇāḍ king, Vīra Kerala, who ruled in the early part of the 12th century was responsible for the introduction of Marumakkattāyam in his dominion. An ambitious ruler and an able organizer, he is known to have extended his authority over Nāñcināḍ and introduced changes in the management of temples by establishing Nambūdiri highpriests in charge of them. Moreover, in order to prove that Nāncināḍ had continued to be all along under the Keraḷa ruler he is stated to have made the Nāñcināḍ Veḷḷāḷas take a false oath at the Madurai temple that they were followers of Marumakkāttayam. This suggests that he wanted it to appear that Marumakkattāyam was the distinctive pattern of family organisation in Keraḷa. It is not improbable that this ruler who conferred an exalted position on the Nambūdiris in Veṇāḍ was also responsible for popularising Marumakkattāyam in South Keraḷa.

But it is difficult to ascertain when the system entered North Keraḷa, the region comprised roughly in modern Cochin and Malabar. If Vira Keraḷa wanted to make the south accept Marumakkattāyam because it was the distinctive institution of Keraḷa, it is presumable that this sytem had already taken root in North Keraḷa.

It is likely that certain hill tribes as well as uncivilized groups like the Kāṇikkār and Ūrāḷis were Marumakkattāyis even to start with, and have

1. TAS., V. p. 33. "Oru tingal adutu aduttu muttukilavan santati ulutuninru neyyattakkadaviyar,'.

2. TAS., I. p. 288. "Ippumi ellam ulavu mangalattavakal tantatiyilava ttoriruvarum ciraikkarayil muttavanum....koduppikkakkadavar".

3. TAS., V. p. 36. "Yetirangaviranum tantatiyum ippumi karanmaiceyitu..".

4. TAS., V. p. 82. "Kurrampalli Cuvagaran tamotiranum..immarkame cilavu clutti ivar oruttaril muttaputtirar atikaram celuttivaruvitum..",

5. TAS., II. p. 203

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

continued as such all along. But the interesting, if also difficult question is, when the Nāyars and other advanced communities adopted this system and what circumstances led to the change.

One of the theories frequently advocated is that the Nāyars were indigenous to Kerala and that they have been all along following the matriarchal pattern of organisation. In support of this view it is stated that there has always existed a close connection between the agricultural occupation and matriarchy. It is argued that in North America matriarchal clan-systems are found especially in the maize country and that in Africa mother-right is prevalent especially among people who live chiefly by agriculture, while father-right is associated with pastoral life. But it is idle to contend that agricultural occupation has an inevitable relationship with matriarchy. A few example by themselves cannot help to postulate universality, particularly because there exist several instances of people who are agricultural and at the same time are Makkattāyis. So far as the people of Kerala are concerned, as observed earlier, there is little evidence of Marumakkattāyam in the Sangam Age. Besides, the available inscriptions of South Kerala show that down to the 13th century A.D. neither the people nor the kings of this region were Marumakkattāyis.

A more widely advocated theory is that which attributes the rise of the matriarchal system among the Nāyars to their military organisation. It is stated that military pursuits and the consequent necessity for them to stay away from their homes resulted in the Nāyars adopting Marumakkattāyam. In support of this is indicated the existence of the distinctive military institutions like the kalari or gymnasiums developed by the Nāyars where their young men were given systematic military training.[1] The observations of Castan teda, which pertain to the period from 1497 to 1549 A.D., throw abundant light on this. He states that the Nāyars were deliberately prohibited from marrying in order that they might concentrate on military service, devoid of all family care and distraction.[2] Their association with Vijayanagar is believed to have particularly enjoined military service on the part of the Nāyars. From about 1336 to 1576 Malabar formed a part of the Vijayanagar empire, and according to Sewell, soldiers from Malabar were recruited in large numbers into the Vijayanagar army. Neverthless these facts by themselves do not prove that the origin of Marumakkattāyam among the Nāyars is traceable to their military organisation. The history of the world does not postulate an inevitable connection between military pursuits and the adoption of matriarchy. Moreover, the Nāyars appear to have taken to the military profession in large numbers only about the 14th centuy and in North

1. See Malabar Quarterly Review, Vol. I (June 1902) pp. 83 to 97.
2. Lewis Moore: Malabar Law and Custom, pp. 64-5

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Keraḷa at any rate the matriarchal system appears to have been in vogue considerably earlier.

On the other hand the available data tend to indicate that the matriarchal system was deliberately introduced among the Nāyars by the Nambūdiris after their advent into Keraḷa. The Nambūdiris have adopted for quite a long time the custom of allowing only the eldest son of each family marry from his own community. It is stated in Keraḷamāhātmyam that the Nambūdiris introduced this pecular custom in order to maintain their estates undivided.[1] This reason is not convincing; it appears to be the result of reading back the past in the light of the Parasurāma legend, popularised by Keraḷamāhātmyam and Keraḷotpatti, both of which are admittedly unhistorical works of the 18th century. There is little evidence to suggest that, on their arrival at Keraḷa the Nambūdiris became owners of vast lands. If the history of the rest of South India is to provide any indication, it is probable that the Nambūdiris were established as members of brahmadeyas in various villages of Keraḷa by monarchs. Hence, the suggestion that the peculiar matrimonial restriction among the Nambūdiris was introduced in order to ensure the impartibility of the estates seems unsustainable.

On the contrary, it is reasonable to hold that in their journey from a distant place to Keraḷa the Nambūdiris might have brought but a few women with them. Hence, as a matter of necessity there must have arisen the practice of Nambūdiris, probably the younger members, consorting with Nāyars. This kind of loose marriage relationship has been spoken of as 'sambandham'. The exalted religious and social position attained by the Nambudiris apparently enabled them to adopt this practice without any difficulty. The association of Nāyars—men and women—with service in temples of which the Nambudiris were the highpriests offered the temptations for the rise of conjugal relationship between Nambūdiris and Nāyar women.

In this connection it may be observed that we have epigraphic data for the period beginning from 10th century A.D. showing that certain classes of people—the Poduvāḷs and Vāriers—now grouped as Ambalavāsis, but akin to the Nāyars in manners and customs, had taken to service in temples. The men were employed as accountants and caretakers in charge of miscellaneous duties.[2] Associated with temples, they became in due course a subsect called Ambalavāsis, considering themselves superior to Nāyars. Their women, too, took odd kinds of service in temples and the practice of brahmin arcakas consorting with them followed. As men-

1. See Fred Fawcett: Note on some of the people of Malabar (Madras Government Museum Buletin, Vol. III., No. I) p, 46

2. See for example TAS, II., p. 7

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tioned earlier, the shortage in the number of Nambūdiri women would have necessitated the wider extension of this practice. In due course, the women of the Nāyar as well as the Ambalavāsi castes consorted with brahmins.

It is important to note that certain classes of Ambalavāsis who wear the sacred thread still continue to be—Makkattāyis. These Ambalavāsis did not take to temple service; nor did they enter into sambandham with Nambūdiris. Thus this fact reinforces the suggestion that Marumakkattāyam primarily arose among people connected with temple service.

After the sambandham relationship had come into vogue, the Nāyars had adopted a Tālikaṭṭu or marriage ceremony, the details of which throw further light on their association with the Nambūdiris. On a careful study of this marriage ceremony the Malabar Marriage Commission have observed that the Tālikaṭṭu Kalyāṇam was a fictitious marriage of purely brahmanical origin.[1] From the evidence tendered before the Commission it was gathered that in North Malabar the tāli or the marriage symbol was generally tied by an elderly brahmin; obviously this was a relic of the early practice of dedicating the girl to a Nambūdiri.[2] This custom seems to be a counterpart of the consecration of the East Coast Devadāsi to her profession as a temple prostitute.[3] Mr. Justice Muthuswamy Aiyar's observations in this connection deserve to be quoted. He says: "Having regard to the fact that several of its details bear a resemblance to a portion of the marriage ritual observed by Nambudiri Brahmins, it is not unlikely that they introduced the ceremony among Nāyars as a caste rite, but it must be observed that the essential element of a Brahmanical marriage, viz., taking the bride by the hand or 'Pānigrahanam' and the walking of seven steps, or Saptabadi, and the Homam or sacrifice to the fire, are not to be found among its details".[4] Thus the Tālikaṭṭu ceremony among the Nāyars is an indication that it was introduced by the Nambudiris, and this in its turn strengthens the suggestion that the sambandham and in its wake, the Marumakkattāyam system were introduced by the Nambūdiris themselves.

While the genesis of the Marumakkattāyam is thus ascribable to the Nambūdiris it is essential that we should guard against the sweeping generalisation that this was the sole cause of its introduction among Nāyars throughout Keraḷa. The probability is that it appeared in different

1. Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission, p. 18

2. This conclusion has been stressed by Mr. Winterbotham, one of the members of the Malabar Marriage Commission.

3. While in the talikattu ceremonies of North Malabar and of the Devadasis of Tamil Nad, a brahmin tied the tali, in respect of the Nayars of South Kerala, a member of their own caste performed this rite.

4. Memorandum attached to the Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

parts of Kerala at different times, caused by different circumstances. An important factor responsible for the spread of Marumakkattāyam among the Nāyars over a large part of Kerala was the influence of imitation. Perhaps, Nāyars of North Kerala were the first to adopt Marumakkattāyam, since the Nambudiris coming from the north, settled in north Kerala first. Besides, the continuance of Marumakkattāyam by Nambūdiris of Payyanūr in North Kerala suggests that the Nambūdiris themselves were once compelled to adopt this system, perhaps on account of the paucity of Nambūdiri women in their group. With the expansion of Nambūdiris and their increased religious and social influence they might have introduced the system among the Nāyars of North Kerala at first. Thereafter partly by the deliberate effort of the Nambūdiris and partly by the natural influence of imitation, the custom would have extended southwards. The fact that Tīyas and Moplāhs of North Malabar are still Marumakkattāyis, while members of these respective castes living in South Kerala continue as Makkattāyis serves to reinforce the suggestion that Marumakkattāyam had its origin in North Kerala.

It is difficult to determine the time when Marumakkattāyam first made its appearance in north Kerala. Very probably it appeared there soon after the advent of the Nambūdiris. The prevalence of Marumakkattāym among the Nambūdiris of Payyanūr as well as the significant fact that the Aliyasantānam institution of Kānarā is akin to Marumakkattāyam suggest that the Nambūdiris came to Malabar through Kānarā probably after a stay there. Even to-day the customs and manners of the Poris residing in South Kānarā are in many respects similar to those of Nambūdiris. Perhaps the Nambūdiris were dislodged by external forces. If a suggestion may be ventured this movement might have occurred because of the Kalabhra invasions and the consequent insecurity. If this were true for which there is a great probabilty, the advent of Nambūdiris into North Kerala may be dated to a period roughly from the 5th to the 7th century A.D. and Marumakkattāyam might have been introduced among the Nāyars in North Kerala shortly after their arrival and settlement in that region.

MERCHANT GUILDS IN MEDIEVAL ĀNDHRA

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This paper is an attempt to picture the organisational and functional aspects of the various corporate bodies which played a very important role in medieval Āndhra with the aid of all available inscriptional evidence.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Numerous merchant organisations flourished in medieval Āndhra and played a prominent role in the economic life of the period. Prominent among these were the Teliki-1000, the Nakaramu, the Pekkaṇḍru and the Deśī. The Teliki or oil-millers, as a corporate body existed from the early Satavahana period. It was a closely knit organisation, with members spread all over the Āndhra country, controlling and regulating the socio-economic activities of its members. The Nakaramu was an organisation of traders in five metals. Like the Telikis the Nakaras were also organised on a countrywide basis with separate units corresponding to the various territorial divisions of the time. Again, like the Telikis, this guild had wide jurisdiction over its members. The Pekkaṇḍru was a federal organisation with local and territorial units and enjoyed extensive power in regulating the activities of its members. Representing almost all the varnas in the trading community, this guild had its own flag. The Deśī, conforming to the general pattern of corporate bodies of the period, was also organised on a federal basis and with wide powers of controlling the activities of its members. The members of this guild traded in all kinds of articles and commodities. Many of these organisations had prasastis of their own containing a number of honorific titles attesting their warlike qualities and sastric knowldge.

THE TELIKIS

From the early centuries of the Christian era the Telikis, i.e., oil-millers, seem to be organised into a seperate corporate body. Records[1] of the Sātavāhana period mention the Tilapistakas as one among several guilds that existed in their dominion. We hear of them next in the Tekiplates[2] of Rājarāja Coḍa Ganga, dated ins. 5000 which record the grant of certain social privileges to this community and describe them as devoted to the Cāḷukyan family as having accompained Vijayāditya, the Lord of Ayodhyā, to the south, as having protected the Cālukyan kings with their lives, and as divided into 1000 families such as Velumanūḷḷu, Pattipālu, Nariyūḷḷu, Kumudāḷḷu, Marruḷḷu, Ponandḷu, Śrāvakulu, Uṇdrūḷḷu, Anumagoṇḍaḷu, and Aḍḍanullu. The obvious inference is that the institution continued to flourish throughout the intervening period of about eight centuries.

Many records[3] of this guild contain a *praśasti* which supplies interesting details about it. In this vakkaṇa, the Teliki-vevuru or the Teliki 1000, as they were commonly called, are described as Yama-dharma-

1. Luder's list, No. 1137.
2. E. I. VI. pp. 334-47.
3. S.I.I. IV. 669, 774, 796,
   S.I.I. VI. 149, 152.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

niyama-parāyaṇulu (devoted to the observance of Yama, Dhrma, and Niyama), Brahma-sambhava-Paulastya-kula-kramāgata-Manuvamsodbhavulu (born in the race of Manu who was of the lineage of Paulastya, an offspring of Brahmā), Sakala-śāstra-visāradulu (well versed in all the sāstras), Kanakāpuri-Ayodhyāpuri-Cajapur-ādhināyakulu (Lords of the cities of Kanakāpuri, Ayodhyāpuri, and Gajapuri), Ayodhyāpuravareśvara-bhrtyulu (the servants of the Lords of Ayodhya), Indrakilanagaśrī-Krsṇavenyanadītīra-śrī-Vijayavaṭīpur-ādhinayakulu (Lords of the city of Vijayavāṭa, situated on the banks of the river Krsṇā near the Indrakila mountain), Sakalaiśvarya-sadhānvayulu (enjoyers of all kinds of wealth and happiness), Kapilamahāmunivara-prasāda-labdha-Cāḷukyarājyamuḷasthambhāyamānulu[1] (supporting pillars of the kingdom of the Cāḷukyas by the grace of the great sage Kapila), Satya-śaucācāra-virā jitulu (devoted to truth, purity and good conduct), Gurudevapad-ārādhakulu (worshippers of the feet of their gurus), Bhagavatī-labdha-varaprasādulu (receivers of the grace of Goddess Bhagavtī), Kapilamaṭhā-pratisṭhitulu[2] (established in the Kapilamatha), Paulasthi-Bhagavti-sthāna-pratisthitulu (established in the strong holds of Paulasṭhī and Bhagavatī), Paulasthayasahasra-śakhānvaya-gotrulu (the gotrins of the 1000 branches of families which sprang from Paulastya), and Bezawāḍa-Mallīsvara-śrīpāda-padmārādhakulu (worshippers of the holy feet of God Mallīsvara of Bezawad).

From the above prassasti it appears that the Telikis came to the south as the camp-followers of the progenitor of the Cāḷukyan race and continued to be staunch supporters of the Cāḷukyas in their struggle for the acquisition and consolidation of power in the south, that Goddess Bhagavatī was the tutellary deity of the community, that though by profession oil-millers they were equally good at arms and śāstric knowledge.

This guild figures as Teliki 1000. The meaning and implication of the figure 1000 are not known. While the prasasti found in many records describes the community as Paulastya-sahasra-śākhanvaya-gotrulu (the gotrins of the 100 branches of families which sprang from Paulastya) the Teki plates referred to above also mention the Teliki as divided into 1000 families, obviously branches of the Paulastya gotra. The Teki plates also mention many gotras which must be taken to have been included among these 1000 sakha-gotras or branches. To these may be added the Velandunūdla[3] and Enaddumusunudla[4] gotras mentioned in other records of this community.

1. This differs from 'Bhagavati-vara-prasada-labdha-rajyanam-Calukyanam' found in Calukyan inscriptions.

2. This was obviously a celebrated Saiva matha but its identity is not known.

3. S.I.I. I. 152.

4. S.I.I. VI. 149.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

We do not know anything definite as to the headquarters and other centers of this corporation. There are, however, certain expressions in some of the records which help us to draw certain conclusions in this regard. This community is described as akhiladeśāla-Teliki-vevuru[1] (Teliki 1000 of all the countries). A record from Bezawada[2] dated in S 1475, mentions an agreement made by members of this community of Teliki 1000 from Kondavidu, Kondapalli, Rajamahandravaram and other countries. Obviously the akhila-deśālu mentioned above included the towns mentioned in the Bezawada record. Some records[3] exclusively describe these Telikis as Bezawāda-śāsanulu which literally means 'rulers of Bezawada'. It was customary in the middle ages for many people who lived in a particular town or excercised any authority or influence therein to describe themselves in the above naners as śāsanulu. From this it may be inferred that the Teliki 1000 had some special relation with Bezawada. From the fact that inspite of their being mentioned as hailing from several other places like Kondavidu, Kondapalli, Rajamahendravaram etc., and from the fact that the expression śāsanulu is mentioned only in the case of Bezawada, it may be reasonably inferred that their principal seat was located at Bezawada. If so, it seems that in several important centers like Kondavidu and Rajamahendravaram they had branch organisations.

Some interesting details are available from inscriptions regarding the corporate life of the members of this community. Reference[4] has already been made to certain social privileges granted to this community by prince Rājarāja Coḍa Ganga of the Cāḷukya-Coḷa dynasty. A record from Bezawada,[5] also referred to above, gives details regarding a contract made by members of this community in relation to certain marriage customs. One record from Srikakulam,[6] states that an oil-mill was exempted from the payment a duty named 'ari' by the Teliki 1000 for setting up a lamp in the local temple. These instances indicate how the corporate body excercised several powers over individual members of the community. The expression samaya-drohulu (traitors to the samaya) occuring in another record[7] implies that the corporation possibly ex-

1. S.I.I. IV.. 774, 796, 797.
2. S.I.I. IV 797.
3. S.I.I. X. 221, 554.
   S.I.I. VI. 152,
4. Teki-plates
5. S.I.I. IV. 797.
6. S.I.I. V. 136.
7. This differs from 'Bhagavati-vara-prasada-labdha-rajyanam-Calukyanam' found in Calukyan inscriptions.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

cercised some penal powers like excommunication over offenders of its decisions or agreements.

Thus the Teliki 1000 seems to be a closely-knit organisation with members spread all-over Andhradesa and with the powers of controlling and regulating the life and customs of its members on both the social and economic sides.

NAGARAMU

The Nagaramu seems to be another important merchant guild that existed in medieval Āndhasa. Some interesting details are available from inscriptions about this organisation.

The expressions Nakaramu and Nagaramu appear in several records and may be taken to be the general name of this organisation. There is also the expression Nakaras[1] appearing in one of the records of the period, relating to one particular place and its obvious implication is a member of the Nakaramu. An inscription from Tripurantakam[2] in the Kurnool dt., dated in S. 1172, describes the Nagaramu as worshippers of Nagareśvara. This suggests that the name of the body was derived from the name of its tutellary deity.

The nature of the work done by this organisation is somewhat dubious. One inscription from Mattewada[3] in the Hyderabad state, belonging to the reign of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapatideva, describes them as traders in five metals. Another undated record from Srikakulam[4] in the Kistna dt., mentions the Pancalohādhipatulu (masters of the five metals). This gives the impression that these were either workers or traders in five metals. Since other information shows that this was primarily a trading corporation, the term mentioned above must be taken to mean that this body only traded in the five metals. The Mattewada record also states that the Nakaramu gifted 2 vis of sandal on every cart load (to a temple). This implies that they carried on trade in sandal and other goods, for, otherwise they could not reasonably gift taxes on these commodities. It may therefore be concluded that the Nakaramu was a body of general merchants trading particularly in five metals.

Inscriptions[5] mentioning the Nakaramu are available from several parts of Āndhradeśa. This indicates that this was a fairly widespread organisation which played a prominent part in the economic life of the country.

Several inscriptions[5] of this period contain the expression Nakara-

1. S.I.I. IX. 294.
2. S.I.. X. 429.
3. C.T.I. No. 11.
4. S.I.I. IV. 972.
5. C.T.I. Nos. 7, 10, 11,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

puvada as belonging to particular towns. The obvious inference is that in each of these towns there was a vada or suburb in which the Nakaramu had its place of bussiness or its members resided. Evidently, this was the exclusive business area where all transactions relating to trade in metals and other articles were carried on under the authority and supervision of the Nakaramu.

Many varieties of the Nakaramu are known from the epigraphical records. There are expressions like Anumakonḍa-Nakaramu,[2] Ciramitta Nakaramu,[3] Karakanṭhapura-Nakaramu,[4] meaning the Nakarams of well known towns like Anumakonḍa, Ciramiṭṭa and Karakanṭhapura. These are all guilds located in particular towns. An inscription[5] from Tripurantakam dated in S. 1172, mentions a Pottapināṭi-Nakaramu. Pottapināḍu was a well-known territorial division. On the analogy of Anumakonda-Nakaramu etc., it may be inferred that there was a Nakaram for a nāḍu, besides the Nakarams of individual towns. Evidently, the Nakaras like the Telikis were organised on a contry-wide basis, and had separate units corresponding to the various territorial divisions of the time. There are two more expressions, Nānādeśi-Nakaramu[6] and aśesa-Nakaramu.[7] The first of these indicates that the Nakaras were Nānādesi, meaning thereby that they belonged to different localities. Perhaps members belonging to various guilds, located at different places, present at a particular place went under this name. Similarly, the word aśesa means all and without exception. The combined expression aśesa-Nakaramu may be taken to mean a combination of all Nakarams. It is possible that at Warrangal, where this inscription is found, there was both a local guild and a territorial guild as well and that both kinds of guilds transacted the business referred to in the record. From these instances it appears as though there were local, territorial, and general organisations of the Nakaras.

An inscription from Ghantasala,[8] in the Kistna dt, dated in S., mentions that 102 of the Nakaramu (Nakaramu-nūṭa-ibbaṇḍru) should protect a gift made to the local temple. This implies that there were 102 members in the local Nakaramu. No other instances are available regarding the numerical strength of a Nakaramu.

An inscription from Srikakulam[1] states that the Nakaramu gifted

1. S.I.I. V. 1046, 1114, 1142.
2. C.T.I. No. 7.
3. C.T.I. No. 10.
4. S.I. IX. 294.
5. S.I.I. X. 429.
6. S.I.I. X. 429.
7. S.I.I. VII. 734.
8. S.I.I. X. 115.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Bogaram-pannu and all other taxes to the local temple, while another record from Karakanthapuram[2] refers to the gifts of a portion of the toll revenue by the local Nakaras to temple. From these instances it may be inferred that this organisation enjoyed the right of gifting to temples certain taxes payable by its members. Then there is the expression sunka-parivar Jitulu[3] occuring in connection with the Nakaram. This means exemption from the payment of sunkamu. A tax named sunkamu of various kinds is known from inscriptions. Since the Nakaramu is a body of traders, the sunkamu mentioned above may be taken to be the sunkamu levied on the shops (angadi-sunkamu) or on articles sold (ammukaḍa-sunkamu).

The inscriptions from Srikakulam,[4] referred to earlier, mentions the titles Ekānga-vīrulu, Prauḍha-vīrulu, Kadana-pracaṇḍulu with referances to the Nakaramu. All these seem to be honorific appelations attesting the war-like qualities of the Nakaras.

THE PEKKANḌRU

Several inscriptions from Āndhradeśa mention peculiar organisations whose names end with the expression Pekkanḍru. An undated inscription from Bezawada,[5] in the Kistna dt., mention a business settlement effected before the Suravaram Pekkanḍru. Another record from Yenamadala[6] in the Guntur dt. mentions the gift of *magama* by the Yenamadala-sthalamu-Pekkanḍru. A third inscription from Nellore dt.[7] a fourth from Tangesh in the Guntur dt. and a fifth from Tripurantakam[8] in the Kistna dt. mention gifts made by the Nānādeśa-Pekkanḍru. One record from Tripurantakam[9] two from Yenamadala[10] and one from Tangeda[11] mention gifts made by the Ubbayanānādeśī-Pekkanḍru. In all these instances the term Pekkanḍru is a common suffix. A series of organisations like Deśi or Svadeśi, Paradeśi, Nānādeśi, and Ubhayanānādeśī also figure in other records as such.[1] The suffix Pekkanḍru distinguishes the former from the latter. Again most of the records[2] that mention the Pekkanḍru contain certain titles which those

1. S.I.I. IV. 972.
2. S.I.I. IX. 294.
3. S·I.I. IV. 972.
4. Ibid.
5. S..I. IV. 784.
6. S..I. IV. 935.
7. N.D.I. Nı. 78.
8. S.I.I. X. 565.
9. S.I.I. X. 473.
10. S.I.I. X 480.
11. S.I.I. IV. 939; S.I.I. X. 381.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

that mention the second series do not mention. Further, two records from Yenamadala[3] belonging more or less to the same time, mention the Ubhayanānādesi and the Ubhayanānādeśī-Pekkaṇḍru. It may be reasonably concluded that all these records refer to two distinct and different groups of organisations one in whose names 'Pekkaṇḍru' figures as a common factor and the other in whose names 'Deśī' occurs as a common factor. Hence the Deśī and the Pekkaṇḍru seem to have been two different kinds of organisations.

There seem to be four varieties in the Pekkaṇḍru. The Suravaram-Pekkaṇḍru was obviously an organisation confined exclusively to one single village, Suravaram in the present instance. Sthals, as a territorial division, occurs in many inscriptions from Āndhradeśa.[4] Yensmadala-sthala mentioned above[5] must have been a division of this type. Yenamadala-sthalamu-pekkaṇḍru, therefore, denotes the Pekkaṇḍru that pertained to a sthala or a territorial Pekkaṇḍru. One of the Tripurantakam inscriptions.[6] referred to above, states that the Nānādeśa-pekkaṇḍru assembled at Tripurantakam for transacting a *samaya-kārya* or business. Samaya means an organisation, technically a guild. Nānādeśi means those coming from different regions. Obviously, this samaya or guild had under its jurisdiction an area wider than a sthala, mentioned above as in the case of Yenamadala-sthalam-pekkaṇḍru. Then there is the fourth name Ubhaya-nānādeśi-pekkaṇḍru. Ubhaya means both. Ubhayanānādeśī-pekkaṇḍru may be reasonably taken to mean an institution belonging to different regions both indigenous and foreign. This interpretation is justified by the mention in one inscription[7] from Tangeda of this organisation making a gift together with the eighteen samayas of Tangeda-sthala. This shows that the Ubhaya-nānādeśī-pekkaṇḍru was outside of and distinct from and therefore possibly higher than the sthalam organisation.

The following gradations in this general organisation going by the name Pekkaṇḍru seem to have existed—(1) village-Pekkaṇḍru; (2) Sthalam-Pekkaṇḍru; (3) Nānādeśa (probably Sīma) Pekkaṇḍru; (4) Ubhaya-nānādeśi (probably nādu or several nādus) Pekkaṇḍru.

One of the inscriptions from Yenamadala, referred to above, mentions the Pekkaṇḍru as having jurisdiction over such a wide territory as Pākanadu, Vengī, and Anumakomḍa-Sthala of which the Yenamadala-

1. S.I.I. X. 495.
2. S.I.I. VII. 734.
3. S.I.I. X. 473.
4. S.I.I. IV. 939.
5. S.I. IV. 935.
6. S.I.I. X 473.
7. S.I.I. X. 495.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

sthalam-Pekkaṇḍiu was obviously a branch. Thus the Pekkaṇḍru seems to be a federal organisation with local and territorial units.

Some of the records[1] mentioning the Pekkaṇḍru contain certain titles pertaining to it. Among these the following deserve mention,— Braham-ksatriya-vaiśya-cāturvarṇāśrama-dharma-pratipālitulu Pancaśata-vīraśāsana-labdhāneka-guṇaganālamkrtulu; Vīrabalamjya-dharma-pratipālitulu; Visuddha-garuḍa-dhvaja-virājitulu; Ahichchtra-nirghātulu. The first of these titles indicates that the members were from the three main social divisions. But the mention in the Tripurantakam inscription 50 of several Reḍḍis and Seṭṭis in this connection shows that the fourth varna was also represented in this organisation. Another title shows that the organisation had some connection with Ahichchtra in the north. Yet another title shows that it had the Garuḍa or eagle banner. One of the remaining titles implies that they were governed by 105 rules pertaining to Vīras or heroes,-while the other shows that they professed the Vīrabalanjya dharma. A record from Alampuram[2] contains the alternative title of Vīrabhadra-rājya-dharma-pratipālitulu. These two titles, almost similar, may be taken to imply that the Vīrabalanjya dharma is the same as Vīrabhadre dharma in which case it follows that the members of this organisation were primarily followers of the Vīrabhadra cult although they also honoured Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

The Suravaram record, referred to above, mentions a decision arrived at by the Pekkandru of Surevaram in a transaction between a certain Mollagunta Kunisetti who borrowed 1200 tankas from Kumara Tenungurāya and a certain Pinakunu Mācābattuḍu who stood surety for the borrower. The borrower, having failed to redeem the debt, the Pekkaṇḍru decided that he should give a promisory note to the surety for the principal amount and, in lieu of the interest, surrender to the surety merit that accrued to him on account of the several good deeds such as the performance of thread-marriages and marriages to brahmins, the construction of tanks etc. It may be inferred from this that the samaya performed some judicial functions also besides the usual samaya-Kāryas for the trasaction of which meetings were usually held in a temple.[3]

THE DEŚĪ

Many inscriptions from Āndhradeśa mention an organisation of merchants known by several names containing a common factor. There is referrence to the Deśī or svadeśī, paradeśī, nānādeśī, and ubhaya-nānādesi. These names imply local, neighbourly, both local and neighbourly, and these together with out-side groups. Deśī, common to all groups,

1. S.I.I. X. 473.
2. S.I.I. X. 473.
3. S.I.I. VII. 734.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

may be taken to be the general name of the organisation. These very names indicate that the Ubhaya-nānādeśī was, as in the case of Pekkanḍru, the larger unit to which the other three were affiliated at lower levels.

A record from Warrangal,[1] belonging to the reign of the Kākatiya king Pratāparudradeva, registers gifts by the four 'Deśī' organisations mentioned above and besides by the Gandhvavāru, Taggaramuvāru (traders in tin), Mūseravāru, and ākūla-kuragāyala-beharulu (traders in betel-leaves and vegetables). Some of these groups of merchants gave gifts of taxes on commodities of which the Deśī organisations also gifted taxes. This implies that these organisations had some connection or other with these groups. Probably, these groups were affiliated, perhaps, loosely to the four standard Deśī organisations.

The articles in which members of this guild traded were camphor, civet, musk, lead, copper, tin, ivory, sandal, cotton, yellow-silk, dāsūri-paṭṭu, paṭṭu-māli (silk-thread or spun silk), coral, pearl, rudrāksa (seeds of Elaeocarpus ganitrus), gāṭūpusa-red-paint, queues, turmeric, nūla-malaga (yarn), ura (?), red-jaju (red chalk or colour made of lac), goru-padāla-malaga, indigo, oil, arecanuts, betel-leaves, sesamum-seeds, ginger, coconuts, tamarind-ūrugāyalu, vegetables, fruits, green-gram, paddy, honey, mustard seed, black-pepper, nūvula-penta, and uppu-penta etc., etc,.

Like the other merchant guild of the period, the Desi seem to have enjoyed certain powers of taxation. Generally duties were imposed on the goods sold by its members for the benifit of some temple.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SECTION III

1206-1525 A. D.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SOME PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY AND RESEARCH

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR N. L. AHMAD

An objective study of the history of the Medieval India has been made difficult by sentimentalism and pseudopatriotism. Some writers have taken upon themselves the role of police prosecutors, while others have imposed upon themselves the task of advocates for defence. It is not the business of a historian to serve in either capacity. On the other hand he owes a duty to himself and to his readers: that is to analyse as dispassionately as possible the thought and deeds of the people in the middle ages and to try and understand them.

2. After all what do we do in our own family circle, where we may have to live with an octogenerian grandfather. We argue with him and try to understand him. Ultimately if we do nota gree with him we grin, shrug our shoulders and sympathise with him on his views of the other times and of a different world. Our approach to the problems of the middle ages should be on similar lines.

3. I feel that a great contribution will be made to the proper evaluation of the history of our country if competent scholars and young historians, having no illusions or inhibitions of their own, were to undertake the study of the medieval mind in India. Such a study is not an easy task, for the people in the middle ages, as indeed in any other period of history, had their self-contradictions, obsessions, prejudices, fads and fancies.

4. Medievalism, for all it stands for, served a useful purpose in its own day. Man would not have been able to usher in the modern age with all its rationalism, liberalism and sense of freedom and equality, without the long and tragic experience of the blood and tears of the previous generations. We live and learn.

5. If we, therefore, insist, as some of us do, on drawing a comparison between the medieval and the modern age, our conclusions will be obviously unfavourable to the former. The rational approach should be to compare our medieval age in India with the middle ages in Europe or any where else in Asia. Such a comparison will yield interesting and instructive results.

6. In medieval India the conflict of religions produced the necessary stimulus and response, with the result that some of the most constructive thought and profound wisdom was given to the world by seers like Guru Nanak, Ramanand, Kabir Chaitanya, Namadeva and others. They rose from the stock of common men and did not belong to the select group of learned pundits and muslim divines. The last mentioned two groups

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

were so much in the midst of the forest of dogma, theology and rituals that they hardly saw the clear sky of the fundamentals of religion or ethics. The teachings of our medieval saints form one of the most important schools of medieval thought. An age that could produce these remarkable men, should not be rashly condemned as altogether barbarous. Indeed, the darkness ushered in by hypocrisy, pretence of morality, religious fanaticism and caste snobbery created the vital necessity for light and reason.

7. My object in stating this is to stress the responsibility of our historians in the matter of presenting a complete picture, which is made up of dark shadows as well as bright patches of light. To overpaint one aspect and to ignore the other will be tantamount to presenting a distorted and even a false picture of our ancestors. In this connection I need hardly emphasize the desirability of undertaking a thorough study of the life and teachings of the medieval saints, the extent of their influence on the daily life of the people then and now, and the extent to which they enriched our languages and literature.

8. Two features stand out prominently in the history of the period from 1206 to 1526 : the failure of repeated attempts to enforce the rule of a common central authority over the whole country, and the persistence with which powerful autonomous organizations sprang up in the several regions. The causes of this phenomenon, which has an important bearing on the history and some of the tendencies of our own day, need to be thoroughly investigated. The incompetence and ineptitude of the central authority in the middle ages, the cupidity and self-seeking of the local hotheads and the difficulties of time and space do not seem to offer a complete answer. These and others may have been the contributory factors, but the causes of great events and persistent tendencies are usually found deeper and extend over a long period of time.

9. I have often wondered whether the natural desire of the large mass of people to have their own local rulers, even though they be of foreign descent, who shall live in their midst, and be more responsive to their needs and more watchful of their interests was not one of the abiding causes of the centrifugal tendencies inherent in the history of our vast country. The other significant fact can not remain unnoticed and indeed supports this view. A large number of the rulers of local dynasties did their best to protect their subjects and to encourage agriculture, local arts, architectures, language and literature. These visible objects of local patriotism seemed to languish while destiny placed them even for short periods in the hands of a distant central authority. Is it then surprising that people in the different regions welcomed almost intuitively every opportunity to have rulers, who will live and die in their midst?

10. The debt of India to the local dynasties in the several fields of human endeavour is heavy and remains yet to be properly valued. There is the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

need for a systematic and detailed study of the history and culture of the well marked geographical and historical regions, for these provide the richness and variety to the pattern of our life. Some work is already being done in this direction. It will be an important addition to knowledge if more light is thrown on, for instance, the life and problems of the warlike Khokhars, the turbulent Mewatis and the restless people of Katehn, who seemed to live like the Irish in a state of chronic unrest and rebellion. The history of Khandesh and its Farrukhi dynasty also merits further study.

11. Influence of Indian thought and culture on western Asia during the medieval period should form an interesting field of study, for social intercourse was then maintained between India and the Arabic world and India and the Iranic world. A good working knowledge of at least three languages—Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian—is a pre-requisite for such a study. Since the new India is likely to maintain closer contact with western Asia and the Arabic world, the Government and the Universities should provide ample opportunities to our scholars for acquiring the knowledge of these and other oriental languages.

12. The Indian civilization has shown an amazing capacity to conquer her conquerors and to synthesize and assimilate other cultures. It should be fascinating to make a comprehensive study of the influence of Hindu culture and traditions on the life and thought of Muslims in India during the middle ages. The life and writings of men like Amir Khusrau and Ainul-Mulk Multani are likely to serve as a treasure house of interesting and valuable information for this purpose. The cult of Satyapir founded by Husain Shah of Bengal and the extent of its influence on the minds of the common people are worth a serious study.

13. Another subject for further study is provided by the so-called heretical sects. The Karmatians, the Mulahida and others had a not inconsiderable following and often gave serious headaches to the orthodox Muslim governments.

14. Lastly here in Gujarat we find that valuable material lies buried in the Jain Bhandaras. A proper study of this material will provide important evidence to correct or corroborate the statements in the Persian chronicles. The numerous rasas or prabandhas should throw interesting light on the social, cultural and political history of the period. A band of scholars well-versed in the old Gujarati should not find it difficult to tap this unique source.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

"RAMEI DEO, THE FOUNDER OF THE CHOUHAN DYNASTY IN SOUTH KOSHALA"

SRI R. K. MISRA

The article tries to depict the history of Ramei Deo, the founder of Chouhan dynasty in South Koshala. Ramei Deo after the defeat of Prithviraj II in the Battle of Tarrain in1192 left hiscoun try Mynpuree for Patna the capital of South Koshala. Taking advantage of the prevailing anarchy and due to his adventurous spirit got himself elected to the throne by the nobles and Brahmins of the kingdom. He negotiates successfully a marriage alliance with Rajarajeswara III the Gajapati of Orissa and extends his kingdom to include the 'Athara Garjat'. He had a minister Rudra Dasa who was also his preceptor. The article is based on many authentic documents, like Koshalananda Kabya, the notes on the Garjat States of Patna by Impey, the records of the Bhonslas of Nagpur and a host of copper-plate grants that could be gathered.

PEOPLE AND POLITICS IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA (1206-1398 A.D.) A SHORT SUMMARY

A. K. SEN

(*a*) Middle ages saw the rise of despots. Yet people could not be altogether ignored. The people living in or around the metropolis and in cities, more vocal than rural people.

(*b*) Qutub-ud-din Aibak had to leave Gazni because people did not like him, and Iltutmish had to show his Charter of manumission before ascending the throne. Balban advised his sons to look after the happiness of the subject. Malik Karakush had to leave Lahore, because the people refused to co-operate. Ilbāri Turks popular with their subjects, otherwise why should they rise in arms in their favour? after the death of Kaikubad?

(*c*) Jālāl-ud-dīn forced to take up abode in Kilokhrī, Alāud-dīn Scatters gold to conceal his crime. Revolt of Haji Maulā—a plebeian protest against beaucratic oppression. Main reason for the failure of Muhammadbin Tughluq is the fact that he forgot that his father was helped to the throne by all sections of the people.

(*d*) Firoz had to renounce the rate of Jizah for Brahmins due to the pressure of Public opinion. Timur had to fight against the united

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

resistance of the people who followed a scorched earth policy at Panipat, Aspendi and other places.

Certain rights and privileges of the people inviolable from time immemorial. The dignified part of the Government created to win the imagination of the people. The welfare activities of the State. People specially, urban people vocal against any vital transgression of their rights at all periods of mediaeval history.

MARCO POLO AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF INDIA

PROFESSOR DR. GEORGE M. MORAES

The seventh centenary of the birth of Marco Polo, the celebrated Italian traveller, falls in 1954. The occasion should not pass unnoticed in India whose knowledge in the Western World no man did more to advance than this prince of medieval travellers. True, Alexander the Great had added considerably to the knowledge of the East by commanding accurate accounts to be drawn up of the countries he had invaded. The Romans who succeeded the Greeks as masters of the ancient world extended the bounds of this knowledge. But it was given to Marco Polo to complete the picture of the East. In his book of travels he supplied for the first time a full account of the countries which the ancients had passed over as *Terra incognita*.

Marco Polo was born at Venice in 1254. Of his early years nothing is known except that when he was yet a child his father and his uncle, Nicolo and Matteo Polo, left their native town for Constantinople on a business venture. They met with success, which took them further afield. They reached Kipchak (in Southern Russia) and Bokhara, and eventually found themselves at the Mongolian residence of the great Kablai Khan, the Emperor of China.

Kablai Khan had never met Europeans before. His intellectual curiosity was roused by what the travellers told him of Western Europe, and he decided to send an ambassador to the Pope requesting him to dispatch learned missionaries to convert his people to Christianity. Kablai Khan persuaded the Polo brothers to accompany the ambassador. But the latter fell ill on the way, and despairing of speedy recovery, he prevailed on the two Polos to continue the journey, transferring to them his powers of plenipotentiary.

They arrived at Acre in April 1269 and finding that no Pope had been elected to succeed Clement IV who had died the year before, they pro-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ceeded to Venice eager to visit their home after an absence of so many years. The wife of Nicolo was long dead, but he was glad to find his son Marco, now a fine lad of fifteen.

Two years passed, but no papal election took place. The Brothers wearied of delay, and started on their return journey, taking with them young Marco. At Acre they interviewed a prominent prelate, Tedaldo (or Tebaldo) Visconti, Archdeacon of Liege, who gave them letters to Kublai Khan, testifying to the fact that it was through no fault of their own that the mission had failed to achieve its purpose. But hardly had they left the place when they learned the glad tidings that Tedaldo himself had been elected Pope. Tedaldo, however, was not able to comply with the request of Kablai Khan for a hundred competent teachers of science and religion. He could persuade but two Dominicans to undertake the task, and even these two backed out at the last moment, evidently alarmed by the hardships to be endured during the long journey.

This was about November 1271. Leaving by Ayas and Sivas, the three travellers wended their way to Persia, and then apparently proceeding by way of Sultania, Kashan and Yazd, they reached Kerman, and finally gained Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. It was probably their intention to go by sea, but discouraged by the unseaworthiness of the ships, they returned to Kerman with a view to take the Khorasan route. From Khorasan they passed into Balkh and Badakhshan, which lay on their way, and then sailing up the Panja or Upper Oxus they reached the Plateau of Pamir, whence they made for Kashgar. They proceeded via Yarkhand and Khotan, and crossed the Great Gobi Desert, and then skirting the northern frontier of China, they at long last arrived at the summer residence of the Emperor at Kai-pinj for nearly a hundred miles to the north of the Great Wall from Kalgan. They had been on the route for three and half years, and it was not until May 1275 that they must have reached the Court.

They were most cordially received by the Emperor. The young Marco, who applied himself diligently to Mongolian, acquitted himself well in his study of the language. His talents and character soon won him the confidence of Kublai, who appointed him to highest positions of responsibility and trust some of which included missions to distant lands. On one such occasion he visited Karakorum, and on another Champa, which mission seems to have brought him as far as South India.

The Polos remained in China for well-nigh seventeen years when fearing what would befall them on old Kablai's death, they requested his leave to depart for Europe. The aged Emperor would not endure the thought of parting company with such tried and able servants. But happily for the Polos there arrived at this time an embassy from Kublai's nephew, Arghun Khan of Persia, asking in fulfilment of the dying wish of his favourite

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

wife that a new bride belonging to the latter's own Mongolian tribe of Bagut be sent to him to take her place. The overland route was too long and unsafe for such a tender and delicate charge and so the sea route was selected. But the Tartans were total strangers to the sea, and in consequence the ambassadors begged the Emperor as a matter of favour to lend them the services of the three Venetians, who were experts in nautical matters. The Emperor reluctantly granted the request, and the party set sail from Zeyton in the beginning of 1292. The fleet halted at Sumatra on the way, and then following the usual course arrived at Madras. It touched the important roadsteads on the Coromondel coast, and rounding Cape Comorin, it passed along the whole length of the West Coast of India, calling at the important ports, and finally made its way to Persia. The whole voyage took upwards of two years on account of detentions caused at the various ports. These detentions were utilized by Marco Polo for his own purpose, and it is to them that we owe the precious information he could collect about our country.

At this time the Coromandal Coast was known under the name of Maabar among foreigners. The word itself was of Arabic origin, meaning passage or ferry, probably because it was most frequented by Arab traders. Maabar was then ruled over by Sundara Pandya, who had four other brothers subordinate to him. Their mother was still living and was by sheer strength of character preventing dissessions from breaking out among them, threatening that if they broke her commands in this regard she would "cut off the paps that sucked them and rip open the womb that bore them and so perish before their eyes".

It is not unlikely that Marco Polo actually saw Sundara Pandya, though he does not appear to have been favoured with an audience. He gives a detailed descriptions of his person: "The king goes as bare as the rest, only round his loins he has a piece of fine cloth, and round his neck he has a necklace entirely of precious stones-rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and the like, in so much that his collar is of great value. He wears also hanging in front of his chest from the neck downwards, a fine silk thread strung with 104 large pearls and rubies of great price. The reason why he wears this cord with the 104 great pearls and rubies, (according to what they tell) that every day, morning and evening, he has to say 104 prayers to his idols."

But in Sundara Pandya religion was merely a formality and did not express itself in moral rectitude. He not only kept a large harem containing 500 wives, but no good-looking could be safe in his kingdom. For, as Marco Polo was told, whenever he heard of a beautiful damsel, he took her to wife, and was so depraved that he would not spare even the wives of his own brothers.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

There were a number of nobles in attendance on the king. According to the prevailing custom, they took an oath to live and die with him, so that when the king died and was laid on the funeral pyre, these nobles also would cast themselves round about his body and suffer themselves to be burnt along with him.

The soldiers went out to battle all naked. They had no use for armour, and believing in the efficacy of the hair of wild ox to protect them, they carried it either tied to the necks of their horses, or to their shields if they were foot-soldiers.

One of the important industries in Maabar was pearl-fishing, which was carried on all along with the coast of the gulf separating the island of Ceylon from the mainland from the beginning of April to the middle of May. The ushers went in their vessels up to a distance of 60 miles and then getting into small boats dived to the bottom of the sea and picked the shells that contained the pearls. These they put in the net bag which they tied round their waist. They mounted up to the surface when they could hold their breath no longer and dived again - a process which they continued the livelong day; while from the shore the Brahmans cast charms preventing the fishes from injuring the divers.

In Maabar Marco Polo observed a novel and ingenious matter of recovering a long standing debt, a method which despensed with the necessity of taking the matter to court. The creditor had only to meet a debtor and be able to draw a circle round him. The law prescribed under penalty of death that the debtor should not 'pass out of the circle till he settled the claim or gave surety for its discharge.'

The criminal law too was strictly enforced and justice was speedily executed against the offenders.

Those who were sentenced to death, however, could choose to offer themselves as sacrificial victims.

On such occasions they were taken by their kinsmen in a procession to the place of execution, where they hacked themselves with the swords till life ebbed out of their bodies.

The people of Maabar were remarkable for their cleanliness. They bathed twice a day, and would not drink from one another's vessels. Nor did they put their vessels to their lips when they drank, but held them aloft and let the drink spout into the mouth—a commendable practice which has happily continued to our own days.

The traveller was struck by the simplicity of the people and also their poverty. From the gentry to the commoners they all sat on the ground considering that this was the most honourable way to sit, since men sprang from the earth and to the earth they must return.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

They also went naked except for a scrap of cloth to cover their loins, so that, observes, Marco Polo, there never was a tailor in all this province of Maabar to cut a coat or stitch it !

The traveller observed a large number of people who not having the wherewith all to lay their heads, slept on the streets. But the rich had their beds made of light cane work. Once they got into them, these beds were drawn up by cords to the ceiling and fixed there for the night in order to avoid the flea bites.

Marco thought that the people had a predelection for black, seeing that in Maabar the devils were painted white and the gods black as also were the images of saints.

The people also put a premium on a swarthy complexion so that the darker the individual, the higher he rose in their estimation.

The wide-spread custom of pan-chewing could not but impress itself on our traveller. Among the higher classes the leaves were prepared with camphor and other aromatic spices and mixed with quick-lime. The offering of Tambul, as it was called, was the usual courtesy in polite society; but when one wished to offer a gross insult to another, he also used the *Tambul*. He spat the leaf and the saliva full on the face of his opponent and the incident was made the occasion of a duel. The king himself supplied the arms on such occasions and the people came to witness the fight ending in the death of either or both.

Cow-worship was the common religious practice which the traveller mis-construed for that of the ox. He also noticed the institution of devadasis or virgins who had consecrated to the service of the deity.

From the Christian point of view, Maabar was noted above all for the tomb of St. Thomas the Apostle at Mailapur. Marco Polo probably himself went there on a pilgrimage, from Kail, the famous emporium on the Tampraparni where the Mongol fleet must have called. Mailapur was then a little town with no great population, scarcely frequented by traders as there was very little merchandise to be got there. The shrine was also visited by muslims because they held St. Thomas as an 'Avarian' a title which corresponds to the Arabic 'Hawariy', meaning an Apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ.

According to the version current at the time in Maabar, the Apostle had died as a result of an acceident and not as that of a deeply laid Brahmanic conspiracy. A Govi or an untouchable having shot an arrow at a peacock, it by chance struck the Saint in the right side and killed him instantly.

At a short distance from Mailapur, there lay the Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal, where the just and noble queen Rudramma was then ruling. Marco Polo observes that "as she was a lover of justice, equity and peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was Lady

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

or Lord of theirs before". The kingdom was famous for its diamonds, and the traveller gives the legendary account how they got stuck to the pieces of meat that were thrown into the bottom of the valley and were carried up to the hill tops by the eagles, and thus secured by men who were lying in readiness to pounce upon these pieces of meat. These men could not go down to the valleys themselves for fear of being bitten by serpents who abounded there.

Rounding Cape Comorin, the Mongol fleet called at the three ports on the Malabar coast, Quilon, Mount D'ely and Calicut. These ports were frequented by traders from China who brought such metals as gold, silver and copper and silk and gold cloth, and took in exchange local produce which consisted of spices. These ports were also visited by Arabs who carried on a brisk trade in horses which was their monopoly. Those horses were greatly prized and each was paid 500 saggi of gold or 100 marks of silver. It was computed that Maabar alone annually imported 10,000 horses, and the total sum realized in the whole of the south amounted to 2,200,000 dinars. According to Marco Polo the reason why this amount came to be spent on horses was that the local people did not know how to treat the animals, and gave them boiled rice and boiled meat to-gether with various other kinds of cooked food to eat. Nor were there farriers in the country. The Arabs took in return the spices which, in their turn, were carried from Eden to Alexandria and from there to the Levant, to be ultimately shipped to European ports.

The wealth of the country, however, consisted chiefly of pepper and Marco Polo observed evidently with the view to correct the erroneous belief prevailing in his own country that "pepper-trees are (not wild but) cultivated, being regularly planted and watered; and pepper is gathered in the months of May, June and July." He adds the information that "they have also abundance of Indigo," and goes on to describe how it was produced.

Marco also gives a minute description of the fauna of Malabar. In speaking of the tigers, he calls them lions, evidently because the conception of the tigers had faded from the Europen mind in the middle ages or perhaps also because the confusion between the two was promoted by the ambiguity of the Persian word *Sher*. He speaks of the parrot, some white with red beak and feet, some red, and some blue—"forming the most charming sight in the world." He recalls the peacocks, "very beautiful, larger than ours and different,' and cocks and hens,' quite different from ours and 'finer and better".

As in Maabar in Malabar also the people went about naked save for a fine cloth worn about the middle. There also prevailed a custom of a man taking his brother's wife after the brother's death. They mar-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ried cousins german, and did not consider any sin of the flesh as an offence. The Malabar was also noted for its astrologers and physicians.

At Mount d'Ely and some other parts of India, there prevailed a wicked custom whereby if a ship bound for another port came in for shelter in rough weather it was seized by the Government and was considered its legitimite prize. From Mount D'Ely the sea became more unsafe. For the pirate from the coastal strip as far as Gujarat went about in squadrons of 20 to 30 ships, and would lie in wait for merchant vessels, forming a cordon covering a hundred miles with a ship stationed at an interval of every five to six miles. When any of these corsair vessels sighted a merchantman a signal was made by a fire or smoke and the whole squadron rounded on the ship. They gave the inmates tamarind mixed sea water so that with the violent purging the dose produced they may secure any thing of value such as pearls and precious stones which the merchants may have swallowed.

After Malabar the only port of importance was Thana. The imports were chiefly gold, silver, and copper and exports were leather, buckram and cotton. Thana was also reputed as a centre of horse trade. The king here had legalized piracy by entering into a contract with the pirates. Under this agreement while they surrendered to him all the horses they captured, the pirates were allowed to retain everything else.

As they went north our traveller found an improvement in the character of the people. In Gujarat Marco observed the people were very good on the whole and lived by their trade and industry. In particular the Banias of South Gujarat which he terms (Lar for Lat), impressed him by their high characters. "They are the best merchants in the world" he asserts, 'for they would not tell a lie for anything on the earth'———an opinion which agrees with that of Friar Jordanus (circa 1330) who said that people of Lesser India (i.e. Sind and Gujarat) were true in speech and eminent in justice. They were the strictest vegetarians he had ever come across, eating no meat and drinking no wine, and their abstemious habits made them long lived. They used a herb for cleaning their teeth, which they also chewed. This herb, besides preserving their teeth, improved their appearance and kept them in good health.

There were a set of men in Gujarat called the Jogues (Chughi), who formed a sort of a religious order devoted to their gods. They were uncomonoly long-lived, living to an age of 150 to 200 years, which Marco Polo was given to understand, was due to potion of sulpher and quick silver which they took twice every month. They ate sparingly, their diet consisting of a little rice and milk.

The Jogis went stark naked, and when they were asked why they did so, their stock reply was: "we go naked because we came naked into the world..Moreover we have no sin of the flesh, of the conscious and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

therefore, we are not ashamed of our nakedness, any more than you are to show your hand or your face". In fact it was only those who were inured to the temptations of the flesh that entered their order. For when a novice was admitted, they had him properly put to the test by getting the temple girls to try on him their blandishments. They led such penitential lives that Marco thought that it was a wonder that they did not all die instead of living so long.

The common folk in Gujarat, however, were terribly superstitious, believing in signs and omens more than any people in the world, for instance if while going out one heard somebody sneeze he proceeded if it seemed to him a good omen, but if it was the reverse, he would sit down on the spot as long as he thought that he should stop there. They also assigned to everyday an augury of some sort. Under the tyranny of these superstitions life in Gujarat was almost a burden.

The province was very fertile and produced among others things, pepper, ginger and indigo. There also grew a variety of plant of true cotton, the gossipium arboricum which was used in weaving the finest muslins. The people dressed in a variety of skins, goat skins, ox-skins, buffalo and wild ox skins as well as those of deer and other animals. They also worked here beautiful mats in red and blue leather exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts and skillfully embroidered with gold and silver wire. They also made cushions embroidered with gold. 2.

This is the picture of India we get from the travels of Marco Polo. One note-worthy characterstic of the ordinary people of those days was that they scrupulously abstained from spirituous liquors. In fact total abstinence from all wine had come to be regarded as the *sine qua non* of citizenship and orderly behaviour. "Indeed", remarks our traveller, "they have made a rule that wine bibbers are never to be accepted as sureties."

NEW LIGHT ON ALAUDDIN KHALJI'S ACHIEVEMENTS FROM A JAIN BOOK OF 1336 A. D.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

The main topic of the *Nābhinandana-jinodhāra-prabandha*, a book composed in V. 1393 (1333 A. D.), is the installation of the image of the Jaina Tīrthankara, Ādinātha, by a Jain officer named Samar Simha who is known to have successively seen service under Alap Khān, the Khalīl Governor of Gujarāzīt, the Khaljī Sultān Qutbuddīn Mubārak shāh, Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq, and his Heir-apparent, Ulūgh Khān. Incidentally it mentions the chief achievements of Alāuddīn Khaljī, the Sultān responsible for the destruction of Jain images in Gujarat; and as this account in spite of its brevity sheds some new

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

light on a topic or two of Khalji history I translate it here from the original Sanskrit. I add also a few necessary comments.

Translation

(III-1) The ruler at that time was Sultān Alāvadīna (Alāuddīn) who like the ocean covered the earth on all sides. Like mighty billows were his prancing horses.

(III, 2) Going to Devagiri, he captured its ruler, but reinstated him there to serve as it were as a pillar of his victory.

(III, 3) Having slain the proud and brave ruler, Hammīra, the overlord of Sapādalaksha, he took all that he (Hammīra) had.

(III, 4) He captured the lord of Chitrakūṭa fort, took away his property, and made him move like a monkey from one city to another.

(III, 5) On account of his prowess, Karṇa, the ruler of Gurjaratrā, fled away in all haste and having wandered about in many kingdoms died the death of a pauper.

(III, 6) Besieged by him in his own fort, the ruler of Mālwā passed there many days, living like a captive, and then died bereft of heroism.

(III, 7) Resembling Indra in prowess, he brought under his control the rulers of Karṇāṭa, Pāṇḍa and Tilinga countries.

(III, 8) Who can count the strong forts, pre-eminent among which stand Śāmyāyana and Jābālipura which he captured.

(III, 9) Armies of the Kharparas roamed about in his country (at will). He dealt with them in a manner that prevented their return.

Comment

Students of Khalji history are familiar enough with the events mentioned in these verses. Verse 2 refers to the defeat of Rāmchandra Yādava of Devagiri. In the Khalji invasion of 1307 A.D., Rāmchandra Yādava was captured and sent to Delhi. Alāuddīn forgave the Rājā, favoured him with a blue canopy and sent him back to rule at Devagiri.[1] He was thus truly a "*jayastambha*" or pillar of Alāuddīn's victory in the Deccan. Hammīra, the proud overlord of Sapādalaksha or Sawālakh, is Hammīr Chauhān, of Ranthambhor, who gave refuge to the Neo-Muslim leader, Muhammad Shāh, and had to pay dearly for his generosity with his life and kingdom.

Chitrakuṭa of the fourth verse is Chitor. According to the Rājpūt tradition, recorded by Tod and accepted as authentic by most historians, Rawal Ratnasimha, though captured deceitfully by Alāuddīn, was later on released by the Rājpūt heroes Gorā and Bādal who, disguised as women, entered the Khalji camp and wrought a good deal of havoc. Ratnasimha died in the second siege of Chitor in 1303 according to these accounts. [2]

1. Prof. Muhammad Habib's translation of the *Khazain-ul Futuh*, pp. 373-375.
2. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. Oxford Edition, I, 209-311. The name of the Rana is wrongly given as Bhim Singh.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Muslim version, as preserved in the Khazāin-ul-Futūh, states on the other hand, that on the fall of the fort the Rānā took refuge in the Imperial tent; Alāuddīn spared his life, even though he had 30,000 other Rājpūts slain on account of the stiff resistance that they had put up.[1] This version is now corroborated by the independent testimony of the *Nābhinandana jinoddhāra-prabandha*. It would have been far better for Ratnasimha to have died on the battlefield than to have passed into the captivity of Alāuddīn to be subjected to the indignities mentioned by our Jain source.

The sixth verse mentions the defeat of the ruler of Malwa. We learn from the *Khazāin-ul-Futūh* of Rāi Mahlak Deo of Mālwā and his Pradhān, i.e., Chief Minister, Kokā, (actually Gogā) who maintained an army of thirty or forty thousand chosen horsemen. In their fight against the Khaljis Kokā (Gogā) was killed. Mahlak Deo withdrew to the fort of Mandu and was after some time slain in his effort to get away from there.[2] Our Jain source speaks of the long siege sustained by the ruler. His attempt to escape has been put down as an act almost of cowardice; but here probably it runs down Mahlak Deo too much. Jāyasī speaks of Mahalak Deo as a hero;[3] and this Mahlak Deo probably is none else than the ruler of Mālwā who after a prolonged period of resistance against the Khaljis had the misfortune of losing the fort of Māndu as well as his life.

The ruler of Karṇāṭa (v. 7) must be the Hoyasala ruler, Vīra Ballāla III, defeated by Malik Kafūr in 1310 A.D. Pandu country actually is the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the capital of which was captured by the Khaljis in 1311 A.D. The Tilinga ruler was Pratāparudra Deva of the Kākatiya family who had to submit to Kafūr in 1310 A. D.

Verse 8 speaks of the capture of Siwāna and Jālor, both of them, as we know, strongholds of the Sonigarā Chauhāns.

The Kharparas of verse 9 are the Mongols.[4] They can rightly be described as roaming about in the country, for between the years 1299 and 1307 A.D., they led as many as five very serious raids on Khaljī dominions. In the last of these, Kapak, a leader of the fleeing Mongols, was drowned in the Ravi. Many of these Mongols were slain, and a good many were sent as captives to Delhi where they were either trampled to death by elephants or hung or executed. The Jain version is therefore right in stating that Alāuddīn dealt with them in such a manner that they no longer thought of returning to this country.

1. *Khazain-ul Futuh*, p. 371.
2. *Khazain-ul Futuh*, pp. 367-368.
3. *Padmawat*, 51, 5.
4. For arguments regarding the identification of the Kharparas with the Mongols.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The *Nābhinandana -jinoddhāra-prabandha* has 2344 verses. A good study of it is absolutely necessary for one writing the social, economic and religious history of the period. A few sidelights on political history, of which the verses quoted above are an instance, are also bound to be highly useful to historians.

FUTUHU-S-SALATIN

(A collation of its two manuscripts)

Dr. Mahdi Husain

The Agra edition of the Futuhu-s-Salatin—the Shahnama of Medieval India—published in 1938 was the result of my study of one manuscript namely the I. O. Ms (India Office Manuscript, I 3089). Later I came to know of a second manuscript in the private collection of Maulvi Ghaus Muhammad of Hyderabad, Deccan. As a result I withheld the footnotes which I had promised as a supplement to the said edition and had intended for a separate publication. Then I used the H. Ms. Hyderabad manuscript and collated it with the Agra edition of the Futuhu-s-Salatin. My friend Dr. Hamid Ullah of Hyderabad helped me considerably in this and secured me also photographs of the Hyderabad manuscript; I thank him warmly. In 1948 the Madras University published Prof. Usha's edition of the Futuhu-s-Salatin which, it was reported, contained a collation of both the manuscripts. But I had already done this work. However, I welcomed the Madras edition and collated it also with the manuscripts. The results of my collation are set forth in this paper.

The I. O. Ms. contains 11525 verses and the Agra edition based on it presents the same number. The H. Ms. has 11693, but the Madras edition presents 11707 verses, 34 being composed by the editor and added in the footnotes to fill the lacunae in the manuscripts. All the same the genuine verses of Isami extant are 11693 and 307 verses should be considered as lost the total number of verses in the Futuhu-s-Salatin being 12,000. Says Isami,

"In these days when learning is at a discount and knowledge is not in request I have set my hands to the Futuhu-s-Salatin and have composed 12000 verses."

Both the manuscripts are defective though each is supplementary to the other. The I. O. Ms. has some lacunace on Fs. 327 and 327b, but the missing verses amounting to seven in each case are supplied by the H. Ms. The folios 244a, 244b, 245a, 245b, 258a, 258b, 259a, 259b, 262a, 262a, 263a and 263b of the I.O. Ms. are highly damaged and spoilt by humidity, and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

many more have been badly affected . The H. Ms. suffers from a loss of several verses —2(3988-5525) in the first instance, 24 (9175-9184) in the second instance and 14(11343-11356) in the third instance. Other omissions which are not only of verses but also of phrases, words and parts of words are also noticeable in both the Mss. and may be used in the *Variants* & *Additions* elsewhere.[1] More than the I. O. Ms. the H. Ms. suffers from a wrong use of words in verses 3, 18, 23, 38, 8692 and 9000 respectively. Both the manuscripts are marred by unnecessary respectively. The I. O. Ms. has repeated verse 907 after verse 909 and the H. Ms. presents a similar case in verse 1781.

On the whole the I.O. Ms. is less faulty and yields better results though the H. Ms. which is a much later production is immune as yet from the ravages of humidity. Like the Agra edition the Madras edition is based on the I. O. Ms; it has drawn upon and utilised the H. Ms. wherever necessary. So have I done in the course of the English translation of the whole that I have completed. This translation contains an appendix headed as *Variants and Additions* giving the different readings of certain verses besides noticing the omission & explaining the reverse order of other found in both the manuscripts.

IMPORTANCE OF SANNIGANDLA INSCRIPTION DATED A. D. 1318.

SHRI B. S. L. HANUMANTHA RAU

On a hill near Sannigandla in Palnad Tq. is the temple of Narasimha, popularly known as 'Singarutla devalam'. On the analogy of Mulukutla and Pillutla, Singarutla should have been a village, no vistage of which remains at present. There is a spring of water in front of the temple with a marble phallus by its side.

TRANSLATION:- When Mahamandaleswara Kakatiyya Pratapa Rudra deva maharaja was ruling the land his Rajavyavahari, Immadi Venkamagaru, accompanied by the village officers, Kolagandru and the head of the Sthala named Aunbalapati, made a grant of 30 hotus of land, free of all taxes to cover the costs of Amrithapadi and Sadupadi including the supply of Salt. The grant is recorded in Saka year 1240, Kalayukti, Jyesta Sa 10.

1. *Vide* F. S. (Agra), p. 577, verses 11403-11414

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The grant was made to Abhinavanarasimha of Sannigandla for the merit of Prataparudra. The last four lines contain imprications in the usual style.

THE LANGUAGE:- The inscription is in Telugu and contains the following words which are rare and not in use

1. Amrithapadi — Rice boiled in milk and sugar
2. Sadupadi — Ordinary rice
3. Hotulu — is a rare term. The connection in which it is used and the phrase "free of all taxes" that follows it suggest that it was a unit of land measurement.

DATE:- The Telugu date of the inscription corresponds to 12th May, 1318 A. D.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INSCRIPTION:- The inscription throws much light on the political, economic and religious conditions of the Kakatiya period in general and on the reign of Pratapa Rudra in particular.

POLITICAL:- The year 1318 A.D. is of great significance in the reign of Pratapa Rudra. In the early months of the year, Khusru Khan[1] led the third Muslim attack on Warangal and Pratapa Rudra having been worsted for the second time purchased peace surrendering his treasury. The inscription clearly indicates that these repeated Muslim attacks had no demoralising effects upon the kingdom. The loyalty of the South Eastern dominions in particular might be largely due to the influence of the conceliatory policy followed by Ganapati towards[2] the rulers of these regions. But gradually the influence wanned and new chiefs especially the Reddis began to dominate the political scene in these parts. According to the local records Pratapa Rudra[3] alienated the Reddis by excluding them from high offices of power in preference to the Velamas. During the last five years of his reign these disaffected Reddis grew in strength in these parts where they built up their power later in alliance with the Musunuris, on the ruins of the Kakatiya empire. The total disappearance of the Kakatiyas with tragic suddenness and the immediate meteoric rise of these new powers give room to suspicions that the latter anxiously awaited if not actually helped the overthrow of the former. This is not a strange phenomena in those feudal times. It may be added that in this connection we cannot slight away the evidence of Prataparudracharitram[4] that a section of Pratapa Rudra's army deserted him when he was in the grip of a deadly struggle with Ulgh Khan in 1323.

ECONOMIC :—A very interesting feature of the inscription is the mention of Rajavyahari in association with local officers like the Karanams and

1. Early Muslim Expansion in South India, p. 84.
2. Kakateya Samchika.
3. Mack, Mass. quoted by Dr. Kamarau.
4. Prataparudracharitham p., 70.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Sthala Pathi. According to the local records Pratapa Rudra caused reclamation of forest[1] lands and colonozation of uninhabited parts of the empire. Therefore Immadi Venkamgaru, the donor might be the agent of Pratapa Rudra, entrusted with the task of surveying the land and distributing it among the poor in Palnadu. Nuemerous inscriptions of the reign speak about the volume of work turned out in this region. Wells, still popular as Kakatiya Bavulu were dug. New villages were planned. Singarutla might have been one of such villages, deserted subsequently. Thus Palnad which was devastated by the fratricidal war that culminated in the battle of Karempudy[2] (A.D. 1182) was rehabilitated. Prataparudra bestowed special attention on Palnad, probably because it supplied sturdy and warlike men. All these measures were calculated to replenish his treasury and reinforce his army greatly reduced by the Turkis attacks and onstitute a testimony to the untiring efforts of Prataparudra to save his empire from the Muslim Menace.

RELIGION :—The inscriptions and the place from which it is obtained describe to us three stages in the religious history of Medieval Andhra. The mutilated Jain sculptures on the walls indicate that the place had once been a resort of the Jains. The early Kakatiyas were themselves Jains[3] and under their patronage Jainism flourished. But Saivism from the northwest and Vaishnavism from the south penetrated into Andhra. These Bhakti cults presenting in them a synthesis of the theistic aspects of Brahmanism and the cosmopolitan social outlook of the protestant cults were a fitting answer to the spiritual cravings of the laymen. Their new line of unostentatious devotional approach to God became very popular. Very early, the Kakateyas[4] came under the influence of Saivite teachers. As a result the Jains, having lost royal patronage could not effectively resist the vigorous onslaught of militant Saivism. Telugu works like Basavapuranam[5] of this period vividly describe how the Jains were put to shame and suffering and how their settlements were destroyed. Evidently the Kakatiyas seem to be guilty, though not of active persecution of Jains,[6] at least of connivance at the barbaric cruelties perpetrated by the Saivites on the Jains. The marble phallus by the side of the spring at Sannigandla is a remnant of the Saivite usurpation of the place. But soon Saivism found a formidable rival in Vaishnavism. The division in the camp of Saivism between the followers of Basava and those of Panditharadhya[7]

1. Loc. Rec. Vol. IV, VI, XVI.
2. Palnati Veeracharita and Kakateeya Samchika.
3. The Kakateeyas of Warrangal p. 3 & Note 5.
4. From Kakati Rudra almost all the Kakateeyas were Saivites.
5. 6th Canto Lines 170-200.
6. There are many legends about the persecution of the Jains by the Kakatiyas. Andhrulacharitra by C. Veerabhadrarau. Vol. 2.
7. Panditharadhya attempted at a compromise between Saivism and Brahmanism.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

as well as some unsocial practices of the more radical creeds of Saivism gradually weakened its hord on the people. Further the religion of Vishnu with his Avataras and romances had a strong appeal to the imagination of the people. Especially Palnadu became the stronghold of Vaishnavism thanks to Brahmanayaka, the Krishna of the war of Palnad. Macharla and Karempudy[1] had been important centres of Vaishnavism in that region. The rivalry between Saivism and Vishnavism was very fierce and the latter ousted the former from many of its strongholds. Thus Sannigandla passed into the hands of the Vishnavites.

The Vaishnavites of Sannigandla seem to have derived their inspiration from Ahobilam, an early centre of Vaishnavism in Karnool Dt. In fact Tirupati, Ahobilam and Macherla mark the stages in the advance of Vaishnavism into the Andhra from the south. Sannigandla might have been an outpost for the spread for Vaishnavism. There terms like Sadupadi and Amritapadi indicate the stamp of Tamil on Andhra Vaishnavism. Along with Vaishnavism, the temple culture also entered Andhra from the South.

SULTAN QULI QUTBU'L MULK AND HIS SUPPOSED ASSUMPTION OF KINGSHIP

PROF. H. K. SHERWANI

A student of the history of the medieval kingdom of Tilangana, with its capital at the great stronghold of Golkunda, is beset at the outset by certain important problems, perhaps the most intractable of which is whether the founder of the dynasty, Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk ever proclaimed his independence or assumed the royal title. This problem has, in a sense withstood solution as far.

Ferishta says that Sultan-Quli declared his independencei n 918/1512,[2] i.e., twenty-three years after the date wrongly ascribed by him to the "declaration of independence" by Yusuf Adil, the governor of Bijapur. We are not concerned with the latter date, as it has been disproved elsewhere.[3] So far as Sultan-Quli's declaration is concerned Ferishta's statement has caused many eminent writers, such as the late Sir Wolesley Haig, to date the so-called "declaration" in 1512.[4] But Dr. Ghulam Yazdani

1. The long Vaishnavite Inscription current Bharati.
2. *Fer.* II, 168; Briggs, III, 323
3. Sherwani, *Independence of Bahamni Governors*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1945, p. 159; Sherwani, *Bahmani's of the Deccan*, pp. 390-94
4. Cambridge History of India, III, 430; Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, 3.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

has conclusively proved from the inscription dated 924/1518 over the *mihrab* of the Masjid-i-Safa opposite the Fath Darwaza of Golkunda Fort that Sultan-Quli could not have declared his independence before 924/-1518; for the inscription says that the mosque was constructed by Sultan Quli "during the reign of..Mahmud Shah son of Muhammad al-Bahmani".[1] But this had led many historians merely to advance the date of the so-called declaration of independence on the part of Sultan-Quli from 1512 to the year of Muhammad Shah's death, i.e., 1518.[2]

Most of the data that we possess, however, leads us to other conclusions. There is no doubt that such a declaration is mentioned by both Ferishta and in the *Tarikh Muhammad Qutb Shah* popularly known as *Tarikh Qutb Shahi*, under different dates.[3] But it must be remembered that while the former tries to fortify his statement by reference to "Deccan histories" which are not named, Ferishta categorically says that Sultan-Quli continued to send "presents both in kind and in money" to the *rois faineants* at Bidar right up to the end of dynasty. The Qutb Shahi is quite explicit that

> "Sultan-Quli was content with that the late king (may his abode be in paradise) had granted to him, and contrary to what other rulers (*salatīn*) of the Deccan did, he continued to prove by his deeds that he was ever faithful and never cast his eyes towards the lands owned by the Bahmani sultan."[4]

Briggs, while translating extracts from the Qutb-Shahi, gives a short description of how Ahmad Nizamu'l-Mulk, Isma'il 'Adil and 'Alau'd-din 'Imadul'l-Mulk declared their independence and proclaimed themselves kings; but when he comes to Sultan Quli he simply mentions on the authority, no doubt, of the "History of Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah" that

> "Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk, who still continued his allegience to the shadow of royalty which remained, retained possession of Tulingana making Golconda his seat of government."[5]

Although there is no doubt that the weakness of the central government after the death of Mahmud Gawan led to almost complete autonomy on the part of the governors and large fiefholders of the Bahmani kingdom, there is also ample evidence that not even the ruler of Bijapur made

4. *Epign. Indo-Mosl*, 1913-14, p. 42. Yazdani, *The Date of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk's assuming the title of King*, J. of the Hyd. Arch. Society, 1918, p. 89.
5. Siddiqi, *Tarikh-i-Golkunda*, p. 25 Prof. Siddiqi seems to have some doubt in his mind, for he says that "this year *may be regarded* as the year of the declaration". The date of Shihabu'd-din Mahmud's death discussed in *Bahmanis*, pp. 417-19.
   The late Hakim Shamsul'l-lah Qadiri says in his article on *Progress of Learning in the Deccan during the Qutb-Shahi period* in the Risala *Tarikh*, April-June, p. 107, that Sultan-Quli adopted the title of King; but he gives no reference.
6. *Q.S* 54; *Fere.* II, 167.
7. *Fer.*, II, 168
8. *Briggs*, III, 337.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a formal declaration of kingship till the death of the last Bahmani Sultan[1] Sultan-Quli was, of course, no exception to this, and his continued profession of loyalty in his own words lead one to believe that he continued to regard himself as the vassal of the King at Bidar to the end of his day. The first and perhaps the most authentic evidence that he never "declared his independence" is found in the apitaph on his tombstone.

In the English rendering of Sultan-Quli's epitaph Dr. Yazdani translates *Malik* as 'monarch' and *Bare Malik* as the great prince, but this translation does not correspond with the connotation of *Malik* in Indian history in general and the history of the Deccan in particular. It really does not mean a king or a soverign at all but merely denotes a nobleman such as Malik Kafur, Malik Muqbil, Malik 'Ambar, Malik Ahmad and many others who were by no means kings. In fact the term hardly ever means a reigning monarch at all. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah* itself uses this epithet for practically every nobleman of the Bahmani Kingdom including Qutbu'l-Mulk who is invariably entitled Malik even before his alleged "declaration of independence" on the death of Muhammad Shah Bahmani. *Bare-Malik* would only denote the Senior Nobleman. With these modifications the effective portion of the epitaph on Sultan Quli' should be translated thus:

> "The occupant of this chosen shrine, and he is the blessed Malik, the felicitous, the warrior in the path of God, Malik Sultan-Quli, known as the *Senior Malik*.."

This evidence, which is in a sense, official, should be conclusive. But there are other important bits of evidence as well which lead one to the same conclusion. We are fortunate in possessing a copy of a book on vocabulary called the *Kanzu'l-Lughat* which originally belonged to the Royal Library at Golkunda, in the collection of the late Nawab Salar

1. See Bahmanis, 419. It is inferred from two inscription found at Bijapur that Ibrahim 'Adil Shah did not assume the title of king till 944/1537 and that this must be the date on which Kalinu'llah, the last Bahmani monarch, died. The question naturally arises why Sultan-Quli did not assume Kingship on that date as well, and what his legal status was from 944 H. to that of his murder. As regards the second point it would suffice to remind the readers of this paper that in the Middle Ages both Asia and Europe are studded with principalities which acknowledged no superior and still their rulers never proclaimed themselves Kings. In more modern times, even after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire by Nepoleon we find that quite a number of duches and grand duches continued to exist independently of any central authority. Nearer home we find that the Faruqi rulers of Khandesh never assumed the royal title although they were independent for all intents and purposes. In the same way, neither Sultan Quli nor his son Jamshid proclaimed themselves Kings though they were subsurvent to no one, and the first ruler of the dynasty to do so was the fourth ruler Ibrahim Qutb Shah.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Jung.[1] It contains on its fly leaf the geneology of the earlier Qutb-Shahi ruler in the hands of the sixth ruler, Muhammad Qutb Shah, himself. It reads:

> "Muhammad Qutb Shah s/o Mirza Muhammad Amin s/o Ibrahim Qutb-Shah s/o Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk s/o Owais-Quli s/o Pir-Quli s/o Ahmad Beg s/o Mirza Sikandar s/o Qara Yusuf s/o Qara Muhammad."

The most noticeable thing about this geneology is that while Muhammad and Ibrahim are designated Qutb Shahs, Sultan Quli has not got the royal title appended to his name. If he had ever proclaimed himself king there is not the slightest doubt that he would have been so designated by his great-grandson who was so careful about the royal-title of his grandfather.

This is not all. We have further material proving our thesis in the *Tarikh Muhammad Qutb Shah* itself which is virtully the official history of the first six rulers of the dynasty, that Sultan-Quli never assumed kingship. The table of contents of book, which was, as was the custom in those days, as much a part of the book as the contents themselves, is absolutely definite that, different to the later rulers who are entitled as kings, not only Sultan-Quli but also Jamshid who succeeded him, never assumed the royal title. The table is as follows:

Chapter 2: Account of the fortunate and successful Prince. Son of an amir,

Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l Mulk;

Chapter 3: Account of the events of time of Jamshid-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk and his son who is known as Subhan-Quli.

Chapter 3: Account of the life of the High and the Mighty, of the equipage of Faridun, the magnificence of Solomon, with his seat on the Throne of Jem, the Refuge of the people, having the support of God. the Father of the victorious, Ibrahim Qutb Shah.

Chapter 4: Account of the events in the time of One with the position, the *Kh*aqan of the age, with the Sun as the Shield of his greatness and high dignity, King of Kings, with the Stars as his soldiers, having the support of the Almighty, Father of the victorious Sultan Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah.

Epilogue: Account of some of the occurrences of the reign of the *Khaqan* of the world, King of Kings, whose judgements have a finality,

1. This work is exhibited in Salar Jang Museum, Room 18, and is numbered 77. It is in the hand of Syed Ashraf and was completed in the Zil-Hijja, 1035 April, 1926. The geneology on the fly leaf is in the writing of Muhammad Qutb Shah himself, who reigned from 1612 to 1626.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Priceless Gem of the collection of Royalty, the Sun of the firmament of the Realm, King, Refuge of the people, Father of the Victorious and the Successful, Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah.[1]

It is absolutely clear from this that the writer, who himself lived in the reign of Sultan-Quli's grandson, considered the progenitor of the Qutb Shah as merely the 'son of an Amir' and calls even the second ruler merely 'Jamshid Qutbu'l-Mulk', while the boy-ruler, Subhan Quli is merely mentioned. This fully corroborates the theory that at least Sultan-Quli never assumed the royal title.[2]

A NOTE ON PRABODHA-CHANDRIKĀ OR DISCOVERY OF A NEW SANSKRIT GRAMMAR IN ORISSA.

PROF. G. S. DAS

Some years ago during my search for unpublished palm-leaf manuscripts I came across one called 'Baijalo-Karika' in the ex-state area of Patna now called Bolangir District in the state of Orissa. I gave a cursory glance to that palm-leaf manuscript and found that I had discovered an unpublished valuable palm-leaf manuscript on Sanskrit Grammar.

As the owner of the manuscript did not accord me permission either to purchase or to copy the manuscript I had no oppertunity to go through it carefully.

This year the Utkal University Research Assistant Pundit Sadashib Ratha Sharma, Puri was deputed by me to the Ex-state area Bamra now included in the District of Sambalpur for searching unpublished palm-leaf manuscripts. He informed me about a palmleaf manuscript called 'Prabodha Chandrika' in Sanskrit in the possession of Pundit Harihar Mishra of Barkot in the Ex-state area of Bamra. He was good enough

1. *Q.S.*, p.1
2. It is interesting to note that Mirza Nizamu'd-din Ahmad Sa'idi's *Hadiqatu's-Salatin*, the official chronicle of the first part of Sultan 'Abdul'-lah Qutb Shah's reign (1626-72), completed in 1054-1644, also calls the first ruler "Malik Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk" although he prefaces it by the courtesy title of "Padshah". We may well compare this state of affairs with the epithet "Khusraw-i-Dakan" and even "His Majesty" being affixed to the name of the Nizam of Haidrabad during the last days of the old regime, although His Exalted Highness never proclaimed his kingship. In the same manner certain small Rajas of the present Himachal Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh, who were not officially recognized "His Highness" before the merger of their states into the Indian Republic, were sometimes so addressed by subjects.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to permit our Research Assistant to copy the manuscript. I have gone through this manuscript with care and attention and I am of opinion that this Prabodha Chandrika discovered in the Ex-state area of Bamra is non other than 'Baijola Karika' discovered in the Ex-state area of Patna on the following grounds :

Both are Sanskrit manuscripts dealing with Sanskrit grammar although the title of the two manuscripts are different.

Secondly the author of both the manuscripts styles himself in the colophon as Baijal Das ruler of Patna.

On looking through the feudatory states Gazetteer of Orissa (compiled by Cobden Ramsay, I.C.S., 1910), I find that there are two Baijal Deo's. Baijal Deo I was the third cheif from Ramai Deo who was a very powerful cheif and extended his dominion far and wide. He reduced Bamra to an annual tribute of 16 elephants (chapter XIX, pg. 285, Gazetteer of Feudatory States of Orissa). Baijal Deo II was the tenth Maharaja of the Patna Chowhan house. "Between the periods of Ramai Deva and Baijal Deva II, the tenth Maharaja or during a period of some 300 years, there was a considerable acquisition of territory made by Patna, viz., the States of Khariar and Bindra Nawagarh on the west; Phuljhar and Sarangarh to the north; Bonai, Gangapur and Bamra to the north east which were all made tributary dependencies; while the Zamindary of Rairakhol, as well as a tract of land to the eastward on the left bank of Mahanandi, was forcibly wrested from the chief of Ratanpur, Narsing Dev, the twelfth Maharaja of Patna, ceded to his brother Balram Deva all such portions of his territories as lay north of the river Ang. The latter founded a new State (Sambalpur) which very soon afterwards by acquisition of territory in every direction became the most powerful of all the Garjats; while from the same time the power of Patna commenced to decline". (Chap. XIX, Pg. 285, Gazetteer of the Feudatory States of Orissa). In addition to Baijal Deo I and Baijal Deo II mentioned in the Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer Mr. Impey, Dy. Commissioner of Sambalpur in his manuscript of the year 1863 mentions the name of Baijal Deo III who was the fourteenth chief of the State of Patna.

It is difficult to say with certainty whether Baijal Deo I or Baijal Deo II or Baijal Deo III was the author of the Sanskrit Manuscript Probodha Chandrika or Baijalo-Karika. However, I am of opinion on circumstantial grounds that Baijal Deo II was the author of this newly discovered Sanskrit Grammar. As Baijal Deo II was the tenth ruler, I suppose the dominions of Patna were in a prosperous condition and patronage was given to arts and letters.

As Baijol Deo II was a patron of arts and letters it is likely that he was the author of the Sanskrit Grammar.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The author Baijal Deo states that he was a scion of Aditya Deva. The Chowhan family of Patna and Sambalpur claimed descent from Rāmai Deo or Rāmchandra Dev who claimed descent from a race of Rajput Rajas of Garsambar near Mianpuri. "It is alleged that Hitamber Singh, the last of these Rajas offended the Raja of Delhi and was killed, that his family had to abandon their country and fly in every direction, and that one of his wives who was at the time of enceinte, found her way down to Patna. Patna was it seems, at that time, represented by a cluster of eight Garhs (Forts) and the chief of each Garh took in turn to hold powers for a day over the whole. The chief of Khulagarh received the Rani kindly and in due time she gave birth to a boy, who was called Ramai Dev. The chief adopted him and eventually abdicated in his favour, and when it came to his turn to hold powers over the whole, he took the first oppertunity of causing the chief of the other seven Garhs to be murdered and setting himself up as the cheif over the whole with the title of Maharaja. He contrived to preserve his position through the influence that he obtained by a marriage with a daughter of the then Raja of Orissa". (Gazetteer of Feudatory States of Orissa. Chap.—XIX, Pgs. 284-285).

Ramai Deo or Rāmachandra Deva was the founder of the Chowhan dynasty of Bolangir. According to Sambalpur District Gazetteer and Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer, he started the rule about 1263 A.D.

The names of the succeeding rulers of the dynasty in an unbroken chain down the Mahāraja Rājendra Nārāyana Singh Deo, M.P., the present chief of Patna are known to us. But the exact period of rule of the different rulers of the chowhan dynasty of Patna-cum-Sambalpur have not been recorded either in the Sambalpur District Gazetteer or the Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer. If we give approximately 20 years to each ruler the rule of Maharaja Baijal Deo II, the tenth ruler of the dynesty would fall during the period 1443 to 1463 A.D.

The importance of the Sanskrit Grammar lies in the fact that it is a simplification of the rules of Sanskrit Grammar. The peculiarity of this Sanskrit Grammar is that the different sections of Sanskrit Grammar are all explained in Sanskrit sloka by reference to the name of Rāmachandra of Ajodhya of eternal fame and the simple incidents of Ramayana. Therefore the reader by reading the book not only masters the difficult rules of Sanskrit Grammar but is supposed to acquire merit by uttering [the name of Rama one thousand and one times, while reading the slokas of Prabodha Chandrikā or Baijal-Karika. The book is worthy of being critically edited by an expert in Sanskrit Grammar and should be printed and published by the patrons of Sanskrit language and literature in India.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

JAUNPUR AS DESCRIBED IN VIDYĀPATI'S 'KĪRTILATĀ'

PROF. RADHA KRISHNA CHOUDHARY

Vidyāpati has thrown a flood of light on the life and condition of the people of Jaunpur. His description of Jaunpur is without any admixture of the marvellous. In Kīrtilatā, our poet transports his readers to the Sharqui capital in its best days. He saw for himself the Hindus and the Muslims living together, and his representation of these two communities is the true picture of the conditions then obtaining in India. By this time, Mithilā's contact with Islam had become an established fact, and the Kings of Mithilā had to either wage wars against the Muslims or to fight for their Muslim masters. This is evident even from his songs, wherein we find that he has mentioned a number of Hindu & Muslim rulers.[1] Jaunpur was a very fine city having beautiful gardens, culverts, embankments, ponds, houses and temples. The city was nicely decorated and there were fine roads.[2] The existence of various Shiva temples is an ample proof of Ibrahim Shah's liberality towards the Hindus. One was reviling the religion of the others.[3] The lot of the common man was most hopeless. Irresponsible persons had their say in every matter. Even though Ibrahim Sah was a powerful ruler, he failed to regulate the economic life and anarchical conditions that prevailed

1. H. P. Sastri—Kirtilata—Introduction—"गान गुलि भिन्न भिन्न लोकेर फरमाइसमत लेखा हइया छिल"—

2. Saxena—Kirtilata—pp. 26-27—"देखने में सुन्दर, नीर प्रक्षालित, सुन्दर मेखला से विभूषित, दीवार में पत्थर का फर्श, भीतर-भीतर जल के बाहर निकल जाने का रास्ता—पुष्करिणी और सुन्दर सुन्दर भवन थे—श्वेत ध्वजायुक्त स्वर्णकलशों से सुशोभित हजारों शिवालय दिखाई देते थे।"—

3. Ibid— हीन्दू तुरके मिलल वास, एकक धम्मे आओका उपहास।
कतहु वांग कतहु वेद, कतहु विसमिल कतहु छेद।
कतहु ओझा कतहु वोजा, कतहु नकत कतहु रोजा।
कतहु तम्बारु कतहु कूजा, कतहु निमाज कतहु पूजा।
कतहु तुरुक वरकद, वाट जाइते बेगार घर।
धरि आनय वाभन वहुआ, मथा चढ़ावय गाइक चुड़आ।
फोटचाट जनेउ तोड़, उपर चढ़ावय चाह घोर।

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

there.[1] Fuel was sold at the rate of sandal wood. A realistic account of medieval city can be had from Kīrtilatā.

The chief centre of attraction was the market place. There was a regular din and bustle. The market, on the whole, presented a beautiful show. It was an ocean of people. Every class of people flocked there. People from Telang, Chola, Kalinga, and Bengal flocked here and spoke their own language.[2] The market was busy, and presented a splendid site. Every type of metal goods was sold. Sweets and fish were found in abundance. Practically every aspect of human consumption was sold in the market.[3] The description of the stylist public woman is marvellous.[4] These public woman used to earn their bread by means of bad livelihood. It appears that the prostitution was the legalised social evil, and public woman thereby earned a lot. These women also flocked to market and tried to induce young maidens to join their camps. Woman was a necessary accoplishment to wine, a regular feature in the Muslim and feudal society. The market was flooded with cosmetic goods.[5] Dancing and singing girls were not unknown.[6] Prostitution was a practically regular feature in the society. We find its earliest

1. Ibid—P. 40-43- for a description of the Muslims and their ways of life. Our poet's description may be taken as the first hand report of the relation between the Hindus and the Muslims then obtaining in India. Though the two communities lived side by side, the relations war not very satisfactory. Rejuevenated and triumphant Islam was trying to foist its colour upon the Hindus. Vidyapati looked at the problem from a purely conservative standpoint. The actual economic condition is evident from the following lines— "सेरें कीनि पानि आनिअ, पीवए षठो कापड़े छानीअ ॥ पानक सज सोनाक ङका; **चान्देन कयूल इन्धन बिका**। बहुत कौड़ि कनिक छोड़, छीवक वेचा दीअ छोड़। कुरुआक तेल आङ लाइअ, वाँदी वड़ दास जो छपाइअ ॥ cf. Kasi Nagari Pracharini Patrika-Vol. 56-No. 1; pp. 51-52.
2. Ibid—P. 48. 5a—Ibid—P. 28— हाट करेओ प्रथम प्रवेश। अष्टधातु घटना टांगार, कँसेरी पसराँ, काँस्यक्रेङ्गार, प्रचुर पौरजनपद सम्हार सम्हार, धनहट्टा, सोनहट्टा, पक्वानहट्टा, मछहटा, करेओ सुखरब कथा फहन्ने होइत झूठा जनि गम्भीर गुर्गुरावर्त कल्लोल कोलाहल कान भरनो, मर्यादा छाड़ि महार्ण उठे।
3. Ibid P. 30—सकल पृथ्वीचक्र करेओ वस्तु विकाए आए वाजे मानुसक मीसि (rush) पीसि (trodden) वर जांगे आंग। उँगर आनक तिलक आनकाँ लाग। यात्राहुतह (coming and going) परस्त्रीक बलिया भांग। ब्राहमणक यज्ञोपवीत चाण्डालहृदयलूल (touched). From the above description it appears that the market was planned on an organised basis. The rush was so great that even the sandal paste on the forehead of a man was rubbed by others. It was difficult for the high class Hindus to save themselves from being pollutted by the impure Chandalas.
4. Ibid—P. 34— धन निमित्ते, घरपेम, लोभे विनिय, सौभागे कामना बिनु स्वामी सिन्दूर, पर परिचय अपामन · · · उभारि उभारि केश पाश बधन्ने। cf- Dr. S. K. Chatterjee and Babuaji Misra—"Varna Ratriakara's"—description of prostitutes.
5. Ibid—P. 28—कपुर, केसर, गंध, चामर, काजर, इत्यादि।
6. Ibid—P. 42.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

reference in the Muslim period during the reign of Allauddin Khilji, who fixed the tarriff of wages for public women and ordered for its regulation.[1] In one of the tales of the Purusa-Pariksa we find how harlots were "the highest treasures of passions in the eyes of cunning husbands.[2] The state made no attempts to abolish this evil system on ethical grounds, rather they served a purpose i.e. music and dancing, in the scheme of social pleasures.

Slavery was another important feature. Its reaction on the manners and outlook of the age was of a far-reaching character. In slave-holding society the ruling classes get used to highly undemocratic ways of life. It is prejudicial to the social well-being of the community.[3] Like other commodities, slaves were also sold openly in the market. Slaves were purchased and kept.[4] A slave had nothing which he could claim as his own, even his name or identity. Vidyapati hints at a regular slave trade in vogue. This was not a new thing in the history of our social development because our feudal lords were getting used to highly undemocratic ways of life. It was responsible for our mental decay because the system created two diametrically opposite classes—an offensive and brutal upper class, and a bitter and vindictive lower class. Manual labour became identified with slave labourer, and hence undignified and discredited. It ultimately prevented the development of the sense of human dignity which lies at the foundation of morals. The whole history of medieval India is marked with such social consequences.

Vidyapati has also described the court of Ibrahim Sah, and has thrown some light on the court etiquetes and manners.[5] Ibrahim, according to Vidyapati, was second only to God. Jaunpur was second Amaravati or Indrapuri, and all men were happy in his reign. Ibrahim was surrounded by all sorts of persons—Khans, Maliks, and chiefs from

1. Tarikh-i-Firistha—I. 199.
2. R. Nerukar's edition of Vidyapati's "Purush-Pariksha"-146.
   cf—Jayasi's description of the mart of public women to bewitch the people by their accomplishments.
3. H. I. Nieboer—Slavery, as an industrial system. p. 436 (Haque-1910-2nd. edition).
4. Saxena-op-Cit. Some characteristics of the Muslim Society at Jaunpur have been nicely Depicted in the following lines

   कहीं कोटि गन्दा कहीं वांदि वन्दा । कहीं दूर निक्वारिए हिन्दू गन्दा ॥
   नहीं तथ्य कूजा तवेल्ला पसारा । कहीं तीर कम्माण दोक्काण दारा ॥
   तौलन्ति हेरा लसूला पेआजू ।
   षरीदे षरीदे बहुतो गुलामो । तुरुक्कें तुरुक्कें अनेको सलामो ।
   अबेवे अबेवे भगन्ता सरावा सरावा पिवन्ना । कलीमा कहन्ता कलामे जिअन्ता ।
   कसीदा कढ़न्ता मसीदा भरन्ता । कितेवा पढ़न्ता तुरुक्का अनन्ता ।

5. Ibid-pp. 47-50.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

distant places. The ceremony of presentation to the monarch was duly observed, and Virsingh and Kirtisingh had to wait for sometime before they could be allowed to go to the King. Special rows were assigned to the nobles according to their ranks. We know that in the court of the Muslim rulers Hajib occupied an important office and supervised the ceremonies of court presentation. The presentation ceremony took place in the royal court, situated in the centre of the palace with a number of gates leading to its entrance. Various formalities of presentation were observed. Below the monarch, there were nobles, and the highest amongst the nobles bore the title of Khan. Next in rank was the Malik, and the Amir was the last in heirarchy. These nobles had a definite social status and supported the monarch in power, but stepped into the shoes if the dynasty grew weak. Even in the award of titles, Hindu influence was felt in the outlying provinces, and the Sultans of Bengal awarded such titles as Nayak Khan and Satya Raja.[1] The Ulemas also occupied a prominent place in the Sharqui court and expounded theological principles. Vidyāpati's description of the palace and the court is wonderful.

From all points of view, Jaunpur was a prosperous and busy city. All avenues of expansion were open within the framework of a feudal state manned by the monarch and his nobles. Such economic units as the village goldsmiths and betel nut sellers were also represented in the market place. Due attention was paid by the rulers towards the beauty of the city. One chief feature of the Muslim culture was that whenever they met, they used to greet each other, no matter how many times they met daily.[2] Jaunpur had a composite population. Both the Hindus and the Muslims led their lives in their own way. Their ways of thinking and manners were different, and Vidyāpati has succeeded fully in bringing out the truth to a great extent. From his writings it appears that the triumphant Muslims had the least regard for Hindu convention and belief. Even Vidyapati's patrons sometimes found it difficult to profess their religious scruples in the company of Muslims. Though the two communities lived together, one reviled the other so far as their religious sentiments were concerned.[3] This description gives us to understand that the system of forced labour was alredy prevalent. The Muslims in their joyous mood thought of corrupting the Hindu

1. R. Nerukar-Op.-cit. 120; cf. Grierson's edition of the same work-p. 138.
2. This was undoubtedly a very good custom—तुरुक्कें तुरुक्कें अनेको सलामो।
3. Saxena, op. cit, pp 42-43. For a more graphic description of the Muslims and their customs; consult Mukund Rai's poetry in Bengali literature. It is an encyclopaedia of social history of Bengal in the 16th century.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

faith by various means. The Muslims were addicted to wines.[1] No aspect of life at Jaunpur has been left untouched in this work. Vidyāpati's description of the war and character of the Muslim army, and certain human touches at places are wonderful. Studied in the background of other Muslim sources we find that his account is true. While describing the nobility, he has maintained the hierarchical order. A reflection on the Quazi's position is also noticeable. The description of the palace is wonderful. A more critical study of this work along with other similar sources will reveal to us the details of daily life of the city of Jaunpur. Both Kīrtilatā and Kirtipatākā are full of vivid descriptions of so many objects of life both in and outside Mithila. The existence of a beautiful Shiva temple at Jaunpur bears testimony to the fact that the Sharqui rulers were not zealots, like their early predecessors. How far Ibrahim Shah was liberal in his outlook is evident from the fact that when he conquered Tirhut and gave it to Kirti Singh, he allowed Hindu customs to be followed in matters of coronation ceremony. The Sankh tremple was allowed to be played at the auspicious hour. His liberal outlook accounted for the popularity of the Sharqui kingdom in eastern India. The relations between the Hindus and Muslims during the period under review is a subject deserving special attention. From an account of the Kīrtilatā it appears that like Shiva Singha in Mithila Ibrahim Shah was a liberal monarch.

TARIKH-I-SALATIN I GUJARAT : A STUDY OF ITS AUTHOR AND THE MANUSCRIPT

Shri Sayyid Akbar Ali

Gujarat, under the Muslim rule, had produced a large number of historical works of which only a few have escaped the ravages of time. Of those which have survived to us only five have been published while the rest adorn the proud archieves of Europe. The work which we propose to examine in this paper is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (No 271) and has not hitherto been brought to light.

1. Ibid page 40
From Vidyapati's account it appears that the code of behaviour of the Muslim army was different from that of the Hindu army. In the wake of their victorious march, they forgot even the minimum decency of human sentiment. They cared more for the ceaseless expansion of their power and luxury. It is to be noted here that while in early India the agriculturists were never touched by the invading army, the Muslims cared little for them. It was Shershah who realised its importance and re-established that old custom in his army organisation.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

We do not possess any biogaraphical data obout Sayyid Mahmud the author of the present work. We know, however, that he belonged to the distinguished family of the Bukhari Sayyids of Gujarat. According to the author of the Mirat-i-Sikandari, Sayyid Jalal Muqawwir al Mulk, the father of our author, was in the service of Sultan Muzaffar II (917-932 A. H., 1511-1526 A. D.). We do not know when our author was born nor do we know exactly when he passed away. I have tried in this paper to prove that he must have been born in the second quarter of the sixteenth century of the Christian era and must have died after 980 A. H. (1573 A. D.).

It is surprising that no contemporary historian refers to the Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Gujarat. Sikandir b. Manjhu, the author of the Mirat-i-Sikandari has, however, reported four incidents on the authority of Sayyid Jalal and two on the authority of our author Sayyid Mahmud. I have attempted to prove in this paper that the present work must have been compiled between 980 A. H. (1573 A. D.) and 1014 A. H. (1605 A. D.). It contains the history of Gujarat from the accession of Sultan Ahmed Shah I in 813 A. H. (1411 A. D.) to the assassination of Sultan Mahmud III in 961 A. H. (1554 A. D.). This work, which has received but a little attention, throws a flood of fresh light on some of the dark corners of the history of Gujarat.

A NOTE ON TCHEOU TA-KOUAN[1]: PA-SSUE-WEI

KAMALESWAR BHATTACHARYA

Tcheou Ta-kouan, the Chinese envoy, in 1296 A. D., recognized three sects in Cambodia : the scholars called Pau-k'i; the bonzes called Tch'ou-kou; and the Taoists called Pa-ssue-wei.[2] The names of the Pau-k'i and the Tch'ou-kou have been restored satisfactorily as Pandita and Cau-ku (Siamese name of Buddhist monks), respectively.[3] The Pa-ssue-wei have formed, however, the object of many discussions. The following is the account given of them by the Chinese observer:

"The Taoists are called Pa-ssue-wei....The Pa-ssue-wei are dressed like everybody else, with the exception of a piece of red or white cloth, which they wear on the head, after the fashion of the *kou-kou* of Tartar women, but a little lower down. They have also temples, but smaller than those of the Buddhists; for Taoism does not reach the prosperity of

1. The French system of spelling is retained.
2. P. Pelliot, *Memoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge*, BEFEO, II, pp. 148-51.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 148, nn. 4 & 6; G. Coedes, *Etudes Cambodgiennes*, XIII, BEFEO, XVIII, 9, pp. 6-7. On the Tch'ou-kou, see also BCAI, 1914-16, p. 91 & n. 3.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Buddhism. They worship only a block of stone, somewhat similar to the stone of the altar of the God of the Soil in China. I do not know.... whom they worship. There are Taoist nuns. The Taoist temples may be roofed with tiles. The Pa-ssue-wei do not share the food of other men, and they do not eat in public. They do not drink wine. I have neither seen them reciting prayers, nor performing meritorious deeds for men.[1]

M. George Coedes, discussing the Pa-ssue-wei, thus wrote in 1933:

"In *Pa-ssue-wei*, the commentators are unanimous in recognizing a Hinduist sect : the interdiction of sharing the food of other men, and the adoration of a block of stone, in which it is difficult to recognize any other thing than a linga, leave but little doubt in this regard. But the name is embarrassing. Aymonier thought of the Cham *Basaih*, – a name perhaps akin to Khmer *bácɑy=upājjhāya*. M. Finot proposes *pācupata*, attested in epigraphy, and it is this restoration, that has been generally adopted. It is, however, not very satisfactory from the phonetic point of view.

"If *pa-ssue* may strictly represent *pāacu*, one looks for a character with dental ending, for transcribing *ta*; which is not the case with *wei*. Basing my opinion on the old pronounciation of the three characters, which, in the time of the T'angs, was, according to Karlgren, *pwat-si-wi*, I propose to restore *opasvi* mutilated form of *tapasvi(n)*.

"Of the fact that the *tapasvins* or ascetics constituted a well-defined sect, I shall give as proofs only the inscription of Lop'buri of 1025 A.D., contrasting the *tapasis* with the *mahāvāna bhiksus* and the *sthaviras*, and mentioning them beside the *yogis*, as well as the unpublished inscription of Phnom Sandak in which figures the "Holy assembly of the Tapasvis of Civasthāna" (*vrah sabhā tapasvi civasthāna*). On the other hand, all that Tcheou To-kouan relates of the *Pa-ssue-wei* : adoration of the linga, interdictions with regard to meals, existence of 'nuns'—apply perfectly to the *tapasvins*."[2]

The view, however, that the *tapasvins* formed 'a well-defined sect', is difficult to accept. Rather, the term *tapasvin* was a generic one, that is to say, it was applied to the ascetics in general, irrespective of their specific denominations, and never to a particular sect. The following is an extract from the *Tara-rahasya-dīpikā*, Guṇaratna's (1336 A.D.) commentary on the *Saḍḍarśana-samuccaya* of Haribhadra, which speaks of Śivaite ascetics divided into four distinct sects:

.....ubhaye'pyete tapasvino'bhidhīyante / te ca Śaivadibhedena caturdhā bhavanti / taduktam / ādhāra-bhasma-kaupīna-jaṭā-yajñopavīti-

1. P. Pelliot *loc. sit.*
2. *Etudes combodgiennes*, XXXI, T'oung Pao, XXX, pp. 224-5; Cf. *Inscr. du Cambodge*, II,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

nah / svasvācārādibhedena caturdhā syus tapasvinah // Śaivah Pāsupatās caiva Mahāvratadharās tathā / turyāh Kālamukhā mukhyā bhedā ete tapasvinām //[1]

"Both (the Naiyāyikas and the Vaiśesikas) are called *tapasvins*. They are divided into four sects, viz., the Śaivas and others. It has been said: "These *tapasvins*, provided with seats, ashes, *kaupīnas*, matted hair, and *vajñopavītas*, are divided into four sects, on account of their different individual practices etc. The Śaivas, the Pāśupatas, the Mahāvratadharas, and the Kālamukhas, are the four principal divisions among the *tapasvins*."

Tapasvin, we find, is given here as the general designation of the Śivaite ascetics. More light on the problem that occupies us, comes, however, from the Cambodian epigraphy itself. In the inscriptions of King Yaśovarman I (A.D. 889-900), the term *tapasvin* is frequently met with, as being applied equally to the Śivaite, Visnuite and Buddhist ascetics. The following are two verses from the digraphic inscriptions:

Atithīnān dvijādīnām bhūpala-suta-mantrinām
Valādhipānam Śaivānām Vaisnavānān tapasvinām//
Śresthānām manujānān ca sāmānyānām prayatnatah
Yathākramam vidhātavyam sarvvada parpūjanam//[2]

Śaiva and *Vaisnava*, in the first verse, may, indeed, be taken either as qualificatives of *tapasvin*, or as distinct from it, but it is in the former sense, that they have been taken by Barth and Bergaigne, who tanslate: "*les ascetes voues au culte de Civa ou de Visnu.*"[3]

The point in question seems, however, to receive a solid confirmation from the three inscriptions of Prei Prasat, Prasat Komnap and Tep Pranam. The first-mentioned one concerns the dedication of a Śivaite āśrama. It mentions (v. 86) the *tapasvins* in association with the *dvijas* and the *ācāryas* (*dvijācāryya-parivrddha-tapasvisu*).[4] This inscription is incomplete. But many of its verses are found in the two others, of which one concerns the dedication of a Visnuite, and the other, of a Buddhist āśrama. And a common verse found in these two inscriptions, proves beyond doubt that the Visnuite as well as Buddhist ascetics, in ancient Cambodia, were called *tapasvins*:

Hanoi, 1942, p. 137, n. 5.

1. D. R. Bhandarkar *Lakulisa*, ASIR, 1906-7, p. 190; *Ganakarika* (Gackwad's Oriental Sanskrit Series, No. XV), App. II, p. 30.
2. ISCC., No. XLIV; vv. 46-47, p. 368.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 375.
4. *Ibid.*, No. LVI, D, V, 5; G Coedes, *Etudes cambodgiennes*, XXX, BEFEO., XXXII, p. 102.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Yady evam Śāsanam idan nānukuryyat Kulādhipah
nirddayan daṇḍyatām rājñā sa cāyattas tapasvisu.[1]

However, the proposition of M. Coedes could be upheld, if it related exclusively to the particular epoch represented by the Chinese envoy, that of the supremacy of Singhalese Buddhism, when the Śivaite ascetics might have formed 'a well-defined sect' of *tapasvins*, the other sects of ascetics having already lived their days. But the account, present before us, does not seem to warrant the identification of the Pa-ssue-wei with one or the other of the two Śaivaite sects attested in Cambodian epigraphy, viz., the Pāśupatas and the Śaivas. The latter besmeared their bodies with ashes (*bhasma*), wore matted hair (jatā), and dressed themselves with barks of trees (*valkala*)[2] or *kaupīna*[3] or red stuff,[4] while, according to Tcheou Ta-kouan, the Pa-ssue-wei were "dressed like everybody else, with the exception of a piece of red or white cloth, which they wear on the head." Then again, we are told, there were 'Taoist' nuns. But so far as the Śaivas and the Pāśupatas are concerned, the existence of female ascetics among them, is not attested either in India or in Cambodia. All we know, is that those ascetics were allowed to marry, though celibacy was held in greater esteam.[5] Thus, one might wonder if the Pa-ssue-wei, with their rather curious traits, did not form a different sect of Śivaite ascetics in Cambodia, at the end of the 13th century A.D. In all probability, this somewhat degenerate sect would have originated with the decadence of the learned culture. In any case, it seems to have been but a passing phase, for there is no evidence to suggest that it long survived the ascendancy of Singhalese Buddhism.

Tcheou Ta-kouan's description of the Pa-ssue-wei as 'Taoists', has nothing particular about it, for it is only in line with the general Chinese notion of the Śivaite sects in South-East Asia.[6] Scholars like Rene Crousset have already shown the very close resemblance between Indian *yoga* and Taoist mysticism.[7] We can thus presume that the Chinese

1. G. Coedes, *La stele de Tep Pranam*, JA., 1638 (1), p. 213; BEFEO, XXXII, p. 105.
2. D. R. Bhandarkar, *An Ekdlingii stone inscription and the origin and history of the Lakulisa sect*, JBBRAS., XXII, p. 167. Cf. Chau Ju-kua (1225 A.D.). who copying the *Ling wai tai ca* (1178 A. D.), speaks of the Tao-che (Taoists) of Cambodia, "who clothe themselves with leves." P. Palloit, *loc. cit*, p. 150, n.: Hirth & Rochill, *Chou-Ju-kua*, p. 53. The Prei Prasat inscription of Yasovarman I would have given, if it were complete, some interesting information in this regard.
3. Cf. the extract cited above from the *Tanka-rahasya-dipika*.
4. Bana, *Kadambari*, ed. Peterson, p. 95; *raktepataih Pasupatair dvigaih*.
5. Cf. *Tarka-rahasy-dipika*, ACTR, 1906-7, 190, *Ganakarika*, loc. cit., p. 29. The Kapalikas associated, however, with female ascetics, called Kapalinis. See R. Gopalan. *Htstory of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, Madras, 1928, p. 75; K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, Madras, 1941, p. 123.
6. P. Pelliot, *loc. cit.*. p. 150, n.
7. Cf. Grousset, *The Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Impire*, London : Geoffrey Bles, 1952, p. 32.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

observers were simply misled by this resemblance, to confuse the *yoga* practising Śivaite ascetics with their own Taoist masters.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. ASIR = Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
2. BCAI = Bulletin de la Commission archeologique de l'Indochine.
3. BEFEO — Bulletin de l'Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient
4. ISCC — Barth et Bergaigue, Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge.
5. JA — Journal Asiatique.
6. JBBRAS — Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SECTION IV

1526-1764 A. D.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE IN MARATHI

PROF. B. K. APTE

The writing of scientific history is slow to emerge in any land. It appeard in Europe in the post-renaissance period. In India it developed under the impact of the Western Civilization.

That history-writing was in practice in Marathi during and after the Maratha period is attested to by the numerous writings which go by the name of Bakhras. Bakhar in Marathi is the metathetical form of the original word Khabar from the Arabic.[1] For the study of historiography in the Marathi language these Bakhars merit our attention.

There are nearly 70 Bakhars so far published in Marathi. A glance at the list of the Bakhars given at the end of this paper suggests an easy classification from the titles which they bear. Classification of the Bakhars: (1) Bakhars which are biographies of great persons, (2) Family accounts, (3) Great events like the Battle of Panipat, (4) Bakhars named after places, (5) Bakhars dealing with a specific period, (6) Bakhars of religious sects, (7) Bakhars of educational value, (8) Bakhars called Kaifiyats, (9) Bakhars which are mere news reports, (10) Translated Bakhars, (11) Autobiographical accounts.

The most primary characteristic of any piece of history is that it should begin with an inquiry into the past acts of man. The Bakhars, it need not be gainsaid, easily fulfil this condition. Their chief interest, again, is in human affairs. They are to a great extent free from the influence of the Puranas and the Mahabharata, where man occupies an insignificant place in the preordained scheme of things. Their attention is focussed chiefly on the political matters of the day. Any thing like a social history or a cultural history is beyond the comprehension of the Bakhar writers. Histories of this kind are very modern in their origin.

The Bakhars were written in glorification of the great kings or persons and their ancestors. The writers lived at the court of these kings. Their freedom of writing, therefore, was naturally limited and they could not take an unbiased view of the historic events, so essential for the writing of history. However, the concept that history should be written for its own sake is certainly persent at least in some of the

1. Khabar (Arabic) = news, advice, report, rumour, story.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Bakhars. Kashiraja's Bakhar may be considered as the best example of history written for its own sake. He was a Maratha Brahmin at the Court of Shuja-ud-daula and was present on the battle field of Panipat. He was not a servant of the Marathas and therefore was not required to write the account of the Battle of Panipat extolling the Peshwas. Peshvyanchi Bakhar was not written by the command of the Peshwas and therefore can be taken as another example of a piece of information compiled for its own sake; or history written for its own sake.[1]

The educative value of the Bakhars or history was well understood by responsible persons of the Maratha period. Nana Phadanvis got written the Bakhar entitled, Shaka 1704 Paryantachi Peshawyanchi Bakhar, for Savai Madhavarao when he was nine years of age.[2]

The Bakhar writers are not merely interested in recording the events of the past. In the true spirit of historians they give the inner side of the events, i.e. the working of the human mind betrayed in actions. Take the murder of Afzal Khan. All those who wrote on this event show how Shivaji tried to get the confidential information regarding the real intention of the Khan, i.e. either he wanted to capture Shivaji alive or murder him, and equipped himself with the necessary defensive and offensive means to meet the eventuality. Sabhasada graphically describes the tense situation when Shivaji and the Khan met in the old fashioned fraternal embrace, apparently. Again Shivaji's escape from the custody of Aurangzeb which compelled him to resort to trickery described in the Bakhars illustrates the spirit of the times of distrust and warfare.

The working of Bhau's mind when he impetuously rushed into the thickness of the Battle of Panipat is brought out in a few but clear terms in the Bakhars on the subject.[3]

Characterisation, an important part of history-writing is given briefly but in an emphatic language by the Bakhars. Shivaji is called the Victorious, Sambhaji the Hot-tempered, Bhau the Impetuous, Bajirao II the Inconsiderate etc.[4]

The approach to the explanation of the great events like the defeat of the Marathas in the Battle of Panipat is rational in Shrimant Bhausaheb Yanchi Kaifiyat. According to the writer the Marathas suffered a defeat because they gave up their traditional method of guerilla war-fare and took to the Muslim way of fighting in the open field

1. See the relevant bakhars from the list or Foot Note 2 on p. 269
2. Aitihasika Prastavana, V. K. Rajwade, 1928, p. 213.
3. See relevant bakhars, portion of the bakhar when Bhau rushed into the battle.
4. Almost all the important bakhars give these characteristics.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

face to face with the enemy.[1] Another Bakhar states that the Marathas were short of supplies and had no reserve force.[2] These attempts are significant because they search the causes of human events in human affairs. However, this rational method is very often mixed up with a belief in the supernatural. For instanee it is stated in the Bakhar that the defeat of the Marathas in the Battle of Panipat was willed by God and Bhau and Nana were avataras. This is the influence of the Puranas on the Bakhars because according to them every thing is ultimately determined by God. Perhaps the only explanation of this kind of belief would be that in the dark moments of defeat or on the occasion of a brilliant victory man's mind is apt to think that whatever takes place is due to the will of Providence.

The value of evidence in history in support of any account that is given was well understood by the Bakhar writers. Malhar Ramrao Chitnis who begins his story in the Puranic style by giving genealogies of Kings states that he has consulted the Dandaniti, Rajadharmà, Rajamayukha, Karkirdis, diaries and heroic accounts.[3] In the Panipatachi Bakhar, at the end, the writer says that he has taken into considration the recorded diary of a person from the enemy camp as also of a person of his own side.[4] The writer displays here his high sense of impartiality in selecting evidence for the sake of determining the truth. In respect of evidence, however, other writers on the whole are not very critical and in the construction of their stories they are rather appreciative. Critical selection of evidence and impartial judgment belong to later times.

In point of style the Bakhars use direct and uninvolved language. One easily gets the truth in their statements. Later Bakhar writers have a vigorous style as seen in the Hindi cum Marathi speech which they put in the mouths of their personalities.[5] This is not merely a matter of style, but may as well be taken as a part of what is called historical imagination.

The Bakhars on religious sects are interested in religious matters but must be given a niche in the cultural history of the period.

Autobiographies are personal experiences. The brief autobiographical account of Nana Phadanavis deserves a place in the history of the mental condition of the Marathas on their homeward march after the debacle of Panipat.

1. Shrimant Bhausahebanchi Kaifiyat, by K. N. Sane, Shaka 1809, p. 25. The word Kaifiyat means description, information.
2. Shonikrita Peshavyanchi Bakhar, see portion relating to Panipat.
3. M. R. Chitnis - Shiva Chatrapatinche Saptaprakaraatmaka Charitra, the opening portion.
4. Panipatachi Bakhar, K. N. Sane, 1914, p. 49.
5. See bakhar mentioned in foot note No. 2, and Bhausahebanchi Bakhar.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The worst kind of shortcomings from which the Bakhars suffer are inaccurate statements, lack of critical scholarship, anachronisms and factual erros. A wider aspect of the world, humanity as a subject for the writing of history, history of a people or of a nation are absent in the Bakhars. But these were the limitations of their times beyond which they could not go. In this brief survey of the Bakhars an attempt is made to bring to light some of the essential features of scientific history-writing— history is an enquiry into the past, its interest is human, its approach is rational and is based on evidence and has historical imagination—found in them.

List of Published Bakhars

The entire credit of compiling this elaborate list of the Bakhars goes to my friend Shri R. V. Herwadkar, M. A., B. T. of the Bal Mohal Vidya Mandir, Dadar, Bombay. I am highly indebted to him for allowing me to use this list and also the Bakhars which he possesses and for making valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

1. Amatya Bavdekar Yanchi Kaifiyat (BV Vaishakha Shaka 1819).
2. American Marathi Mission Yasambandhi Mandalyanchi Sankshipta Bakhar (Poona Orphanage Press 1883).
3. Angre Yanchi Hakikat (IS July 1909).
4. Bajirao Ballala Peshwe Yanchi Kaifiyat (APY etc. Edited by G. S. Sardesai and others, 1930).
5. Balaji Vishwanathachi Kaifiyat (APY etc. Ed. by G.S. Sardesai and others).
6. Bapu Kanho Yache Atmacharitra (IS, 1915).
7. Bhat Peshwe Gharanyachi Hakikat (MD Rumal 2, Ed. by V. L. Bhave, Shaka 1844).
8. Bhausahebanchi Bakhar (Ed. by K. N. Sane, 1932).
9. Bhonsle Vansha Charitra (Tanjore Saraswati Mahal, Series No. 46, 1951).
10. Bundelyachi Bakhar (Ed. by A. M. Patwardhan, 1920).
11. Cheulachi Bakhar (MIS, Khand 3, 1901).
12. Dabhadesenapati Yanchi Hakikat (Ed. by K. N. Sane, Shaka 1809).
13. Damajichi Bakhar (2nd ed. Ganpat Krishnaji Bombay, Shaka 1770).
14. Dhavadashi Yethil Brahmendraswami Urfa Bhargavababa Yanche Charitra (KIS, 1882).
15. Gangadharshastri Patwardhan Yanche Atmacharitra (BISM, Quarterly, June July 1922).
16. Gayakwad Yanchi Hakikat (Ed. by K. N. Sane, Shaka 1809).
17. Govindpant Bundelyachi Kaifiyat (BV, Charitra, Shaka 1819).
18. Haidar Va Tipu Yanchi Kaifiyat (BV Ashadha, Shaka 1819).
19. Harivanshachi Bakhar (Ed. by V. V. Khare, 1909).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

20. Holkaranchi Kaifiyat (Ed. by K. N. Sane, Shaka 1808).
21. Holkarachi Thaili (MIS, Khanda 3, 1901).
22. Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar (Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachi Sadhane, August 1881).
23. Javalikar More Yanchi Choti Bakhar (IS, May 1909).
24. Jayarama Swami Wadgaonkar Yanchya Charitrachi Bakhar (Ed. J. B. Modak, 1889).
25. Kaifiyat Shahaji Bhosale (APY etc. 1930).
26. Khardyachya Swarichi Bakhar (Ed. by K. N. Sane, Shaka 1807).
27. Mahableshwarchi Juni Mahiti (IS, November 1909).
28. Maharashtramanaalachi Bakhar (Bharatvarsha, May 1899).
29. Mahikavatichi Bakhar (Ed. by V. K. Rajwade, Shaka 1846).
30. Malhar Ganesh Yache Atmavritta (BISM, Shaka 1865).
31. Marathi Samrajyachi Choti Bakhar (Ed. by J. B. Modak, 1889).
32. Marathyanchi Bakhar—Capt. Grant Duff (Ed. by Capt. Devidkephan, 1916).
33. Mudhol Sansthanchya Ghorpade Gharanyache Vritta (Ed. by D. V. Apte, 1934).
34. Nagpurkar Bhosalyanchi Bakhar (Ed. by Y. M. Kale, 1936).
35. Nana Phadnavis Hyanchi Sanskshipta Bakhar (V. P. Shastri Pandit, 1859).
36. Nana Phadnisache Atmacharitra (APY etc., 1930).
37. Nyayashastri Panditrao Yanchi Bakhar (BV Jeshtha, Shaka 1819).
38. Panipatchi Bakhar (Ed. by K. N. Sane, 1889).
39. Pantpratinidhinchi Bakhar (BV Kartik, Shaka 1818).
40. Patwardhani Waka (IS, Aitihasik Sphutalekha Vol IV).
41. Peshwaichi Akher (IA part III, Shaka 1840).
42. Peshwaichya Akherchi Akhabar (MIS Khand 4, Shaka 1845).
43. Peshwyanchi Bakhar—Balaji Ganesha Karkun (MIS, Khand 4, Shaka 1845).
44. Peshwyanchi Bakhar—Sohani (Ed. by K. N. Sane, 1925).
45. Sanpurichi Bakhar (Daftar-Divani-Khate, Haidarabad Dn., 1950).
46. Saradar Gokhale Yanchi Kaifiyat (Marathi Daftar Rumal 2, Ed. by V. L. Bhave, Shaka 1844).
47. Sardar Panse Yanchya Gharanyachi Kaifiyat (BV Shravan, Shaka 1819).
48. Sashtichi Bakhar (Ed. by G. G. Naik 1935).
49. Sashtichi Bakhar (Dnyanaprakash Poona, Kawyetihassanaraha 7).
50. Shakakarte Shri Shivachhatrapati Maharaj hyanche Sapta Prakarnatmak Charitra (Ed. by K. N. Sane, 1924).
51. Shalivahanacharitra (American Mission Press, Bombay 1840).
52. Shivachhatrapatiche Charitra (Ed. by K. N. Sane, 1889).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

53. Shiva Chhatrapatichi 91 Kalmi Bakhar (BV Bhadrapat-Ashvin, Shaka 1819).
54. Shivaji Maharajanchi Bakhar—Chitragupta.
55. Shrimant Bhausaheb Yanchi Kaifiyat (Ed. by K. N. Sane, Shaka 1809).
56. Shrimant Chhatrapati Dhakate Ramraje Va Dhakte Sahumaharaj Yanchi Charitre (Ed. by K. N. Sane, Shaka 1806).
57. Shrimant Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj Ani Thorle Rajaram Maharaj Yanchi Charitre (Ed. by K. N. Sane, 1930).
58. Shrimant Maharaj Bhonsale Yanchi Bakhar (Ed. by V. L. Bhave, Shaka 1839.)
59. Shrimant Narayanrao Peshve Yanchi Bakhar (Ed. by K. N. Sane, Shaka 1809).
60. Shri Samarthanchi Bakhar (Dhule Publication, 1950).
61. Shri Shahumaharaj Yanchi Bakhar (BV, February, March, 1900)
62. Shri Shiva Digvijaya (Ed. by Nandurbarkar and Dandekar, Shaka 1817).
63. Shri Shivaji Pratap (Puratanetihas Prakashak Mandalachi Grantha Mala No. 2, Shaka 1817).
64. Sonpat Panpat Yethil Marathe Durani Yuddha (Vividha Dnyavistar December, 1871).
65. Thorale Shahu Maharaj Yanche Charitra (Ed. by K. N. Sane, Shaka 1805).
66. Vijayanagarcha Vidhavansa (BISM, Shaka 1836),
67. Yadi Karkirda Vithalrao Shivadeo (Dnyanprakash, Poona).

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Bharatvarsha....BV
Aitihasik Patre Yadi etc.....APY
Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane....MIS
Bharat Itihas Sanshodak Mandal....BISM
Vividha Dnyan Vistar....VDV
Itihasa Sangraha....IS
Marathi Daftar....MD
Kavyetihasa Sangraha....KIS
Itihasa Ani Aitihasik....IA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SOME ASPECTS OF MEWĀRI[1] SCHOOL OF PAINTING, THE 16TH, 17TH, AND 18TH CENTURIES.

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The small state of Mewār, forming an important part of Rajasthan, lying within the inaccessible recesses of Arāvallies and containing within its boundaries large number of hills and dales, small rivers and rivulets accupies a place of special distinction in the annals of Rajāsthān[2] Painting.

Like all other sub-divisions of Rajasthani Paintings, such as Jaipur, Bikaner and Alwar, Mewāri-Paintings are also the direct outcome of the classical frescos of Ajantā. Of c urse, there is a long break in the continuity of Ajantā Paintings and Mewāri Paintings, which cannot easily be filled up. However, there are links to show their faint relations. In sculptured art of Mewār belonging to 3rd centu y B. C. to 17th century A. D. Ajantā patterns are clearly discernible. A vital Buddhist school of sculpture flourished at Nagari as evidenced in Buddhā images sculptured on the Stupā.[3] The figure sculpture of scenes of happy feminine life in spartive attitudes with nimble waists and firm breasts, after Ajantā style, can yet be seen on the outer body of the temples of Nāgdā,[4] Ekligjī and Chitor. In the panels of

1. I prefer to call Mewari painting to what Mr. N. C. Mehta and Mr. Brown (Indian Painting, p. 50) call Udaipur painting. The terminology Udaipur painting is not satisfactory, because this kind of painting was not only in Vogue in Udaipur but also in several other places of Mewar. The most striking thing is this that prior to Udaipur being a seat of art and learning the art of painting was flourishing at Chawand, Chitor and later on at Nathdwara. Hence Udaipur art is nothing but the continuity, in forceful expression, of the art which was practised in other parts of Mewar. Thus the fitting term is Mewari Painting.
2. Mr. Brown (Indian Painting, p. 51) terms it 'Rajput Painting', with a view to emphasise the nature of patronage it received from the Rajputs.
   Mr. N. C. Mehta (studies in Indian Painting, p. 5) prefers to call it "Hindu', in order to convey the sense that it was inspired by Hindu culture and Hindu religion. But both words 'Rajput' and 'Hindu' are misleading. It may mean that Rajput Rajas patronized the art or the art was executed by Rajputs only. Similarly, the word Hindu may also mean that it represents Hindu mithology or Hindu ideals. But because it was the outcome of the brushes of both Hindus and Mohammadans and it selected themes not only from Hindu mythology but also from the court life of the Mughals, it may strictly be termed as Rajasthani Painting. This word Rajasthani exactly explains the nature of painting associated with the locality to which it belongs and environment as well as themes which gave it a birth.
3. These Stupas are lying these days on the Topkhana Court-yard of Chitor. One fragmented piece of the stupa has been removed by me to Udaipur and has been preserved in the museum section of college.
4. Modern review, 1946, pp. 379-80.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

these temples several motifs of dances and pastimes resemble Ajantā Art of old.

The pieces of Pottery with geometrical designs also testify the truth of the continuity of Ajantā Art in Mewār.[1]

The art of applying colour was not unknown in Mewār which is proved by the existence of patches of colour designs on the walls of the old palaces of Chitor belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries.

Hence the sculptured art, art of pottery and art of colouring of walls with designs may conveniently be taken as sources of preserving the traditions of Ajantā patterns almost undisturbed in Mewār. They also serve as connecting link between the Art that flourished at Ajantā and the art that developed in Mewār. This is why the majority of painters of Mewār are either workers in sculpture or pottery and associate them with the Jāngidā and Gaur Gotra of Sutradhār or Kumbhakār communities.

In the evolution of Mewāri Painting the Jain miniature Paintings of illuminated manuscripts have also exercised a wide and profound influence.[2] The reason is not far to seek. Shri N. C. Mehta in his article, 'A New Document and Gujaratī Painting,' Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, P. 38 has rightly stated that there can, however, be no doubt that Gujarātis have had the closest affinities with Rajasthan and that boundaries of Gujarāt and the Gujaratī, Culture must be taken to embrace a major part of Rajputana" He further states that "Gujaratī school of painting should, therefore, be understood as embracing not only what is known as Gujarāt at present but also the Major portion of Rājasthān". It appears that by the beginning of the 15th century artists of Mewār began to come in contact with miniature paintings of Gujarāt school of Western India.[3] The Ms. of Kalpasūtrā the earliest of the examples, that has come to my notice, recently, should be taken as one of the connecting links between the early Gujarāt Painting and the Mewāri Paintings of the following Centuries.

The MS. under review was written in V. S. 1536 (1479 A. D.). A careful study of its illustraons show that the style of wearing costumes and ornaments does not differ from the style depicted in Ajantā and other Kalpasūtrā Mss. of this time. Men wear Dhotis and put scarfs over their shoulders. The artistacrates put 'Mukata' as their headgear. Women wear a long and coloured scarf for upper body and a Dhoti for the lower part of the body. Karna-phūls are the common types of ornaments for both men and women. Their foreheads bear Vaishnavite 'tilak'.

1. Pottery pieces of Ahar Excavation are some of the examples (shodhpatrika, 53)
2. Indian art through the Age p. 6; Journal of the Oriental Art, pp. 46-47.
3. The Jain Bhandars or libraries of Jaisalmer and Bikaner also support this view. The illustrated MSS lodged in these libraries lead us to the conclusion that the early paintings of Rajasthan have their affiliation with the early paintings of Gujarat.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In brief the dresses and ornaments of the figures of Folios No. 18, 35, 36, 39, etc, fitly resemble the dresses and ornaments of the figures of the fresco-paintings of Ajantā.

In tracing a connected history of Mewāri paintings it is very difficult to produce good number of paintings of the 15th and 16th centuries. The reason is obvious. Right from the time of Rana Kumbhā down to the treaty period of Rānā Amar Singh (1615 A.D.) there was hardly any breathing space for the Rānā's to patronise the art on large scale or painters to devote themselves undisturbed to the occupation of painting. If there had been some attempts in this direction they were certainly burnt or destroyed during the invasions of the Mughals. When copper-plates[1] were burnt the paper paintings had no safety from fire and general devastations that followed after every invasion of the Mughals.

However, after the treaty period Mewār enters in an age of glory regarding the growing importance of painting. The art became an handicraft of considerable pre-eminence. During this period Chāwand, Chitor and Udaipur became centres of Mewāri art. The pictorial art of these places shows the Mewāri genius in its pure form, intimately related with themes of love and devotion. The subjects of its inspirations are poetry, music, drama and epics. It presents an idealistic and nationalistic out look of life. Through it the onlooker can seek wordly guidance as well as spiritual salvation. The colour scheme of the early paintings of this period consists of white, red, yellow, green, pink, blue and black. Papers used for these paintings are of coarse description, though for smooth surface they are usually coated with white pigment of rice-water.

The women of this school of painting are in exact likeness of Mewāri ladies—round faces, firm breasts, slender waists, lotus-eyes. The commmon men of this school are the representative of emotional intensity and simplicity. Their figures are usually long and thin but significant of expression of their feelings. Emphasis on expression and simplicity of line are the chief characteristics of the style. In this art the Nature is represented in simple and direct form. The great beauty of Mewāri school of painting is the primitive force of expression blended with ideal and colour scheme. It is much nearer to the primitive taste and Hindu idealism than the paintings of any other subdivisions of Rajasthani paintings. But the artist of Mewār is not only true to religious symbolism but also to the traditional beliefs and familiar scenes associated with daily life. As this school gradually attains age it assimilates in its body certain Mughal traits also.

In order to be little precise I propose to give some special features of this school from large number of paintings and illustrative Manuscripts that I have recently discovered from the private collection, the Saraswati

1. G. N. Sharma, Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 107.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Bhawan Library, Udaipur and Jotdan, picture gallery of the Maharaj Pramukh, Udaipur.

Of all the paintings of this period the Chāwand paintings may be considered to be the earliest. One picture belonging to a set of Bhagawat (in the possession of Shri Gopi Krishna Kānariā, Calcutta), was prepared by a Muslim artist at Chawand, the former capital of Mewār from 1585-1615 A.D. The picture bears nearly all traits of early Mewari features. It also emphasises the fact that it is a mistake to divide art with reference to creeds. Here the muslim executant worked for his Hindu patron. In the reigning period of Jagat Singh (1628-1652 A.D.) a manuscript named Ārshan Rāmāyan was copied by Mahātmā Hirānand at Chitor in the V. S. 1708. It consists of 77 folias (16½ " X 10½ "), one side of the folio has been used for the text and other side has been used for illustration depicting the epic tale of Rāmā's adventure. These important pictures unfold in continuous series the scenes of interview of Sīta and Anasuyā (f. 5), Rāmā and Sūrpankhā and Hanūman and Sītā at Ashokavātikā . While there are other pictures (FF. 30-45) which illustrate war between Ravan's forces and Rama's forces. They are highly informative as regards the use of implements of war and method of fighting of footmen and charioteers of that age. Moreover the MSS is very important as regards the study of costumes of ladies wearing Mewārī 'Langā' spotted sāri and hightfitted bodice. Their arms are practically loaded with bangles. A variety of necklaces, chains of gold and pearls adorn their necks. 'Karnāphool', 'bor', 'pāyal' 'Hānsali' etc, are the typical ornaments. The figures of priests Sadhus and Chelās have been so cleverly executed that they reflect the people's simple veneration towards their traditional religious beliefs. The beauty of this set lies in directness and obviousness of the method of telling the whole story of Rāmayan through pictures. The depth of the colour is specially remarkable. How a definite Mughal influence had made its way through Mewārī art can clearly be perceived in one of the pictures where Rāvan appears like a Muslim Faqair whil Rāmā and Lakshman in some other picture appears like Mughal generals.

Next comes the MS of Sūkar-kshetra Mahatmya (of Varhapurān), copied by Hirāṇand and painted by Shahāvadil (a Muslim painter)[1] in V. S. 1712. Though the MSS deals with mythological subject of the Purān the painter seems to have shown greater freedom executing life related with marriage party (F. 9-11½ " X 7½ "). In another illustration (F. 8) there is a clear depiction of agricultural life.

The MSS Ekādashi Mahātmya of the same period should be taken as a record of secular life documented in paintings through religious ideals of Kathās in Mewāri. At the top of the folios the ideals have been noted in

1. He is the same Shahavardi; the famous painter of the Bhagavat Puran of the Bhandarpur Oriental Institute Poona, dated 1705. Vide Maya, vol. IV, 1750.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Mewāri and then these ideals have been translated into pictures. As for example in folio No. 18 the disregard for the veneration of the cow has been threatened with show of various penalties that a man has to undergo in several births. In one of the pictures there are panels dealing with the life of a thief. MSS Prithvirāj-Ro-vel and Harivamsha, similarly, preserve innumerable examples of secular life and religious life of the people of that age.

In the MSS of Kadambari there are fine illustrations of duel fighting, sending of envoys, playing and women dressed in warriors at fire. The Mss Sarangadhar Padhati preserve natural poses and habits of a beggar (F. No. 3), parter (F. No. 171), oil-miller (F. No. 184) and palanquin bearer (F. 222). In Harivamsha there is an exactness of woodcutter, Gujari, and cart-driver etc.

In the illustrated MSS of Bhāgavat the lovers are represented by Krishna and Rādhā. Through them the painter has tried to bring home events of every-day life and heavenly deeds. There are also depiction of love expressed itself in the erotic motifs of heroes and heroines.

One of the MSS of Rāgamahal probably of 17th century A.D. expressed in painting, provides several subjects treated with artistic excellence. Each Rāga and Rāgini is burdened with mood of love, union or separation. Material world and nature it appears have been clearly mirrored in these pieces of painting. It is probably the most profusely illustrated document of painting. It is in a loose form each folio measuring $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. At the top of the page above each painting is the name of the Rāga the painting illustrates. Then fallows a stanza in Hindi describing the Rāga. On the top corner there is also the price of each folio given, varying from Rs. 4/- to 15/-. The artist of these paintings had a free flowing style, full of action and variety of pose. As paintings these are among the best of the period. Its excellence and importance increases from the fact but it is a complete set of Rāga Rāgani and in this respect it surpases the Rāga paintings noticed by W. N. Brown referred to in his article in J.I.S. of oriental Art. 1948. They are from different incomplete set of the same period.

Then follows illustrations from Sunder Sringār executed in V.S. 1782. The figures of Mānini, Swakiyā and Parkiyā Nāyakās have been drawn with considerable animation and movement. Plants especially of plaintains and mangoes have been treated in a conventional manner. To this MS belong the paintings of the city of Agra and Udaipur (FF. 3, 58, 9) which afford an interesting study of the town planning and village planning of those days. These are the finest examples of landscape paintings with clouds and water indicated by wavy lines and bluish tinge. They are remarkable not for their breadth of feeling but their accomplished technique akin to Mughal Kalam. The painter has tried to approach the fine drafts-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

manship and graphic pictorial quality of the Mughal school. In these paintings decoration and richness of pattern have been emphasized with cleverness.

The Jotdān collection of Shri Mahārāj Pramukh Udaipur has portraitures of Rānās and Mughal emperors and courtiers of supreme order belonging to the 17th & 18th century A.D. They bear the style where the actual likeness and the conventional figure of art traditions have been happily and beautifully blended. The faces have been so cleverly executed that prowess and intelligence can easily be read out of them. The poses of hands and face in Sāngā's portraits, for example, have been wonderfully achieved. These portraits should be taken as the finest specimens of Mewāri portraiture yet known belonging to the period under review.

The earliest of the paintings in the collection is that of a 'Pat' of Haldi Ghātī probably of 18th century A.D. (exhibited in 1911 at the Delhi Darbār Exhibition). It is painted in a narrative style enlarged from a miniature painting of the same (5 X 4 in). Its chief feature is the conformation of expression with the movement of the figures and arms of the fighters taking part on the battle.

The description of Mewāri painting is not complete without a brief reference to Nāthadwārā paintings also. This painting strictly speaking be termed as Siṇhād painting as the former name of Nāthadwārā was Siṇhād. The school dates from V. S. 1728 when the idol of Srīnāthjī was installed in the village of Siṇhād. It is very difficult to find earlier paintings of this school in Nāthdwārā because most of the early paintings have been sold. However, whatever earlier painting of 18th century that have been discovered are those of deties of Ganesh, Hanumān, Rāmā and Sardārs of the neighbouring areas. In one of these paintings which is in the possession of Shri Ramchandrā, Rāmā is seated in the virāsan on a throne with a Pithikā, behind, in front Laksmana holding the royal fan and Hanuman seated in adoration at his feet. The colour scheme is simple consisting of dull green, yellow, red and light brown colours.

Another picture (6 X 4 in.) in the possession of Shri Udai Ram, depicts Hanumān carrying over his shoulders Sitā and Rāmā. The background is of plain red colour and the lower part is full of brown pebbles and green shrubs. The figures are alive and drawing is precise and vital.

Then in Motī Mahal of Nāthdwārā there are some specimes of this period later (18th century) framed on walls of the balcony. They represent the stories of Bhāgavata Purān, canto 10th. In some of them Krishna is shown playing on the bank of Jamunā. Here Jaimunā has been drawn after the impression that the painter had of the neighbouring Banās rushing down from its mountainous retreats and whirling in swift turns through scenes of Verdant glory, Krishna and Gopas have been attired in 'dhoti' and 'duptta'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of yellow colour with red edges. In another picture we find Krishna and Rādhā strolling in grove of Kadamba trees with bees and clamouring birds around.

In another picture we find Krishna riding over Hindolā, attended by various Sakhis. Here the trees of Kadamba and Mangoes with their over-spreading branches furnish the canopy of green foliage. The natural colour of the peacock and sky colour is suggestive of the days of the advent of rainy season. The entire treatment of the land-scape is original.

The figures of this Kalam are of round faces and extending hands with thin fingures. Women wear ornaments of Mewāri style and coloured cloths. Krishna with all ornaments usually worn by the Rānās and Sardārs appear only in yellow 'dhoti' with a Kirit composed of pearls and peacock feather.

One more striking feature of this school is the prominance of Vanmāl and Vaijayantimāl worn by Krishna which suspends down to the knees. The dancing poses of Gopikas reaches nearer to the poses of Rājasthān.

The detailed and critical study of Nāthdwārā school leads us to the conclusion that in this art we find a fine blending of method and style of Marwār, Jaipur, and Alwar, & Udaipur Kalams. This is further corroborated by the fact that most of the families of painters of Nāthdwārā trace their origin from Nagaur, Jaipur, Alwar and Udaipur.

Thus the Nāthdwārā school is a rich and enlightened art specially devoted to Krishna's phases of life worked out by a style which evolved out of the native characheristics assimiliating there in the salient features of other sister methods and techniques of Rājasthān.

Several specimens of these paintings dated as late as 18th century, ascribed to individual artists preserve to a large extent traits of the parent stock of the Rājasthani paintings. But in the later paintings of 19th and 20th centuries we find great divertion towards the adoption of modern taste and art.

ABUL HASAN QUTB SHAH.

PROF. PRATAPGIRI RAMAMURTI

Abul Hasan Qutb Shah, popularly known as Tana Shah, is a crowned mystic and philosopher than whom few have more narrowly missed greatness. Most of the accounts of his reign have come down to us from prejudiced sources. Historians seem to have conspired to blacken his memory and represent him as a libertine, and a pleasure-seeker who neglected his kingly duties. An attempt is made in this short paper to appraise him properly and to assign to him his legitimate place in South Indian History.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Abdulla Qutb Shah, Abul Hasan's predecessor, was a scholar and a poet and also a great builder. The kingdom of Golconda reached its utmost expansion during his reign, but on account of no virtue possessed by him. As king, Abdullah was a miserable failure. The rulers and the ruled became extranged and the malady, dread *staasis* which had attacked the kingdom had become chronic. The days of the Qutb Shahi dynasty were verily, indeed, numbered. When it forfeited the love and loyalty of the people of the land, who became indifferent to its fate, gladly looking forward to its subversion as a deliverance from their misery, its *raison d' etre* to exist disappeared. Its dissolution was brought within striking distance.

When Abdul Hassan Tana Shah ascended the precarious throne of Golconda, the kingdom was seething with faction and torn by strife. The situation in the Deccan was perilous. The Mughal had by now become definitely a Deccan Power. A Mughal Viceroy was posted at Daulatabad to watch over imperial interests in the South. He was to exploit to the advantage of his master every situation that arose in the troubled politics of the Deccan States.

The Great Mughal had only suspended the stroke and the sword of Damacles hung perpetually over the necks of the Deccan Kingdoms. It was only by ever-wakeful vigilance and efficient preparedness that the Deccan States could meet the peril and avert disaster.

For the time being, however, there was no thought of the immediate conquest of the Deccan by the Mughals. Aurangzeb was pre-occupied in the ever-recurring problems of Northern India. His own presence was required in other parts, and he was too suspicious to entrust the task of conquering the Deccan to any deputy. He therefore conceived the plan of systematically undermining the strength and *morale* of the Deccan Powers slowly and efficiently, that when at long last he could afford the leisure to take in hand the Deccan problem, he would only find a land rather to settle than to subdue.

It was Aurangazeb's unscrupulous but consistent policy to enfeeble the Deccan States so that they would fall an easy prey when he should attack them. He placed forth-columnists in every Deccan capital and fomented mutual jealousies. He stirred up factions in the internal Governments, and was even prepared to wink at the daring raids of Shivaji, if they should bleed and enfeeble the Muslim States of the South.

Thus the situation was extremely perilous. The Deccan States found it difficult to know their real interests. By the exigencies of an ever-changing diplomatic front, they found themselves often pitted against each other, whereas they should have recognised the real enemy and banded themselves together. By remaining disunited they were playing the game of the Great Mughal.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The two men who saw things clearly and understood every move on the chess-board of Deccan politics were the two great antagonists, the Puritan Emperor Aurangazeb and the National Hero Shivaji. They never trusted each other. Shivaji was as cunning as Aurangazeb, He was not unwilling to combine with the other Deccan powers in the common cause against the Great Mughal, but he knew he could not depend on them. Bijapur was incapable of all intelligent and consistent policy, torn as it was by civil discords and subverted by Mughal intrigues.

Would Golconda at least awake and arise before it was too late?

That was the great problem that the new King Abul Hasan was called upon to face on his accession. The Great Mughal had resolved upon the destruction of the Deccan States. Only, he bided his time. What attitude then, should Abul Hasan adopt? How should the foreign policy of Golconda be formulated and directed? That was an urgent problem which did not admit of postponement.

The foreign question unfortunately reacted upon the domestic question and aggravated it. The root of the problem was that Golconda had long ceased to be a Sovereign State. The imbecile Abdulla Qutb Shah had even acquiesced in the interference of the Great Mughal in the personnel of the services. The Mir Jumia incident was a dangerous precedent which was a running sore eating into the vitals of Qutb Shahi sovereignty. Mughal Paramountcy became capable of vague and varying interpretation. The very presence of the Mughal Agent at Golconda made matters very difficult. The Qutb Shah dared not prevent the subversive intrigues of the Mughal Agent without openly courting rupture.

And unless the Mughal influence was either withdrawn or eliminated, the Qutb Shah could not hope to set his own house in order. He could not enforce loyalty. He could not effect any measures necessary for strengthening his kingdom. His orders would be flouted by his servants who would keep the Mughal informed of what was going on at Golconda and who, in case of necessity, could look up to Aurangazeb for safe asylum.

The domestic problem was thus inextricably intertwined with the foreign problem. It was necessary therefore to purge the Golconda State of all extraneous influences. Moreover, should the Mughal peril return again and the invader hurl himself against the gates of the Capital, he would not find the land unprepared, its people callous and indifferent, and its leaders lukewarm and half-harted, and its king an imbecile and a coward. This could be only done by transforming the kingdom of Golconda into a "Nation-State" in much the same way as the great polity that the contemporaneous Marathas were building.

The first necessity, even for this was the elimination of the influence of the foreigner, the Mughal. The old decripit Government of Golconda could never hope to stand against the Mughal. There should be some sort of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

levee en mass. The people should be mobilised for national struggle. They should be made to feel that they were fighting for their motherland.

Above all, the health of the body-politic had to be urgently restored. Golconda had become anaemic. The yearly tribute to the Mughal was a great drain. The potential wealth of the land lay untapped for want of proper undertaking. But more serious than everything else was the appalling leakage in state revenue for which the venality of public officials was most responsbile.

Urgent reforms were necessary if the insensate waste and the venality of the Government should be prevented. The finances should be soundly reorganised and corruption in the services suppressed. And these necessary reforms could be undertaken only by a king who was prepared to assert himself and to enforce his authority. But it was the interest of the Great Mughal to keep Golconda corrupt and feeble.

Thus the problem was manysided and complex. Foreign and domestic factors had got intertwined inextricably. The foreign question could only be faced by a king who had made his domestic position strong and unassailable. Again, the domestic question could only be solved by a king who had got rid of the foreign entanglements. The problem appeared formidable, calling for exceptional talents for its solution.

The occassion brought forth the man, one of the greatest statesmen and administrators that India has produced. MADANNA lies in the line of succession of great ministers, Chanakya and Timmarusu. Only, they were more fortunate. If he had the privilege of being a Minister in a Hindu state he might in some respects have been the greatest of them all. He died, as he had lived, the truest friend of the house of the Qutb Shah. No one had worked more good and endeavoured more to make his land free and great than this noble and selfless patriot; and as far as we know, he never did his master the least harm.

Abul Hasan Tana Shah appointed Madanna Surya Prakasa Rao, a Telugu Brahmin, popularly known as Madanna, his Prime Minister. His brother, AKKANNA was appointed his Peshkar. His nephew, the gallant and learned Yenganna, surnamed Rustum Rao for his valour because he reminded one of Firdusi's heroes Rustum, was placed in high command.

These ministerial changes effected the complete rehabilitation of Abul Hassan as sovereign and established him in the affections of the people. They went far to restore the prestige of the Government.

Having chosen Madanna and Akkanna to carry on the administration of the kingdom, Abul Hassan gave them his fullest and unreserved confidence. And in this, he never had cause to regret; for the two brothers most loyally and faithfully served their sovereign and in everything they did, they had only the interests of their master and welfare of the kingdom at heart.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The employment of Hindus in high offices by Muslim kings has been appraised as liberal statesmanship by all historians of medieval India. That the Hindus, who formed the predominant majority of the population, should not stand aloof in sullen discontent but should be enlisted in the service of the State and be thereby given a living interest in its life is recognised as a necessary axiom of State policy. So long as the State was the exclusive monopoly of a ruling caste or faith, the dynasty would fail to send roots deep into the soil. The main bulk of the subjects would remain helots, drawers of water and hewers of wood.

To weld together discordant elements in the State, to reconcile warring creeds, and to establish the State as a partnership of all is the prime consideration of statesmanship. The land was fermenting with new ideas and new hopes. A new life was surging up with its inspring principles of love and liberalism. Great teachers had risen in Hinduism and Islam who taught the fundamental unity of all mankind; and for a time men seemed to forget the trivialities of their different creeds. Drinking deep of the founts of Vaishnava Vedanta and of Sufism, they preached a liberal and broad religion of life, uniting diverse people, whether worshippers of Rama or Rahim.

Abul Hasan was a true child of his age. The formative years of his youth, he is said to have spent in the monastery of a reputed teacher who was revered throguhout the kingdom. Shah Razauddin, or Shah Raju as he is popularly known, was a Great Sufi. The King himself was an erudite scholar and a poet, and moved in the company of Sufis and poets. He had emancipated himself from the thraldom of narrow dogma and sectarian creed. He had the example of the great Akbar before him to inspire his State policy.

The regime of Madanna and Akkanna went very far to reconcile the Hindu subjects of Abdul Hassan who now became his greateful admirers. The name Tana Shah became a household name and legends began to weave around it which bear witness to the King's liberal sympathies and generosity.

Madanna and Akkanna were fitted, by the education they received, to play the eminent *role* destiny lay in store for them. They were well versed in Persian, Hindustani and the vernaculars of the land. Madanna had a warm interest in Sanskrit and he studied the ancient lore of the land relating to religion and philosophy.

Madanna set himself to his task with characteristic energy. Retrenchment and Reform may well describe the nature of his work. He brought hard work and efficiency to the task of the Government. And above all he showed that he possessed the necessary courage to effect unpopular reforms, and carry them in the teeth of the opposition of "vested interests".

Madanna found every interest ranged against him but he had the unflinching support and unreserved confidence of the sovereign. The State had to be urgently organised for both peace and war. Madanna had to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

combine in himself the qualities of a Peace Minister as well as a War Minister. To introduce order and efficiency in a State like Golconda, even if continuous peace could be assured, was a colossal task. But Madanna had to effect necessary reforms under peculiarly perilous and disadvantageous conditions. He had to organise the civil administration while at the same time mobilising the country for war. The army had to be kept on a war footing, because war had become chronic in the Deccan.

The problems of public finance are at any time highly technical and perplexing,. In a state in which everything has been lax and corrupt, it is very difficult, indeed, to reduce finances to any intelligent system. More so, when crises and great emergencies have to be provided against. War finance requires genius of rare talents.

Madanna is one of the greatest Finance Ministers that India has produced. He avoided additional taxation and war loans. The heroic remedy that Madanna devised for the many ills of the state was retrenchment. He then began to insist on regularity and strictness in the collection and remittance of dues to the State. There was a stiffening in the administration and a determined effort to assert the authority of the Central Government over every part of the kingdom. This is specially seen in the able administration of Podili Lingannas, the nephew of Akkanna and Madanna, in his Tarafdari of Poonamallee.

Madanna showed no favouritism whatever in the matter of collections in revenue. There is a tradition that has survived to the present day relating to one Gopanna, alias Rāma Dās, who constructed the temple at Bhadrachalam. The Dutch journalist Havart also makes mention of this Rāma Dās who is described as the nephew of the Ministers, Akkanna and Madanna, and was the Tahsildar of Bhadrachalam. He was alleged to have spent the money of the State in the construction of the Bhadrachalam temple and when he felt in arrears in payment of dues, he was promptly arrested and tortured until the money was recovered. Popular tradition has it that their deliverance was due to the miraculous intervention of the Divine Brothers, Rāma and Lakshmana.

If this Gopanna, alias Rāma Dās, was a nephew of Akkanna and Madanna the action taken against him speaks volumes in favour of the Ministers' integrity. It is an index to the fact that there was not the slightest nepotism in their administration and that they were ready to take action against any offender against the state, even if he should be their nephew. Madanna was a true patriot who had only the interests of the Golconda administration in mind.

Another direction in which the great Minister tried to improve the finances of the state was by liberalising the productive activities in the kingdom. Moreover, he tried to personally acquaint himself with the condition of various localities or provinces within the kingdom. He planned

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

administration tours in the kingdom, accompanied by his sovereign, Abul Hassan. When the people of the land found their king coming to their very localities, making enquiries into their life, righting wrongs and devising ameliorative measures, a human tie was thus formed between the sovereign and the subject.

Madanna was always solicitious of the welfare of the subjects of the Qutb Shah, and took effective measures even in matters concerning distant villages. And in all his great tasks, he was ably supported and served by his brother, Akkanna, and his nephews. Akkanna was at one time Governor of the Carnatic, a position once occupied by the famous Mir Jumla. At another time he was Resident in Bijapur on behalf of Golconda and conducted very difficult and subtle diplomatic negotiations. He rose to high position by distinguished military service. Yenganda, surnamed Rustum Rao, the nephew of Akkanna and Madanna, shed his blood in the wars of Golconda. Another nephew, Polidi Linganna, became Tarafdar of Poonamallee and ultimately of the Carnatic.

A Brahmin Minister in an Islamic State, under the very best of circumstances may naturally become unpopular. And more so, when he is attempting to effect retrenchment by the abolition of economic privileges and fabulously large salaries and sinecures. All the vested interests in the State would be up against him. Madanna made enemies even of Europeans in India by the patriotic attitude he adopted in the assertion of Golconda authority. But under him, the Government of the State shed its alien character and became a truly national institution.

The most amazing achievement of Madanna's statesmanship was the intense love for the sovereign generated in the hearts of a grateful subject population. In every heart of Telingana, Abul Hasan's name became a revered and dear one. The king was no longer regarded as the leader of a ruling caste, hateful to the people whose religion was insulted. He came to be looked upon as the father of the people. They prayed for his welfare while he lived. And long after his death, people still gratefully remembered him, and prayed for his spiritual welfare.

This is a miracle indeed. But the miracle was worked by the regime of Madanna. The miracle was the transformation of an alien government into a truly national-State in the sense in which such a term could be employed in the India of the sevententh century, by linking it up with the bases of the old Indo-Aryan Polity. The king became the Protector of Dharma. He would not impose the creed of the conqueror upon his subjects, but gave the protection of the State impartially to all the faiths.

Madanna was great as Peace Minister and the measure of success which he achieved under the depressing influences that surrounded the Golconda Court is astounding indeed! but he was great also as Foreign Minister! Next to Aurangazeb and Shivaji, Madanna was the only states-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

man who grasped the intricate and tortuous diplomacy o ` the Inter-Satte system of the times.

Madanna's policy was anti-Mughal, not anti-Islamic. He did his best to preserve the independence of Golconda. As long as he lived the machinations of Aurangazeb proved futile. Madanna protected the State from every peril, and did his best to avert disaster. Aurangazeb was ultimately forced to recognise that he could never conquer Colconda so long as the destinies of that State were guided by the patriotic wisdom of the great Minister.

Madanna knew as no one else in Golconda that there could be no trucking with the Great Mughal. His schemes of recovery would be frustrated by the treacherous diplomacy of Aurangazeb. The salvation of Golconda depended upon the elimination of the foreigner.

The patriotic Minister had a patriotic king to back him up in his patriotic policies. Unfortunately, in other aspects, he seems to have worked in perilous isolation. He was surrounded by selfish and treacherous officials, who hated him because he was a Brahmin and who scorned to take orders from a *kafir*. They were prone to look upon Aurangazeb as the saviour of the faith and so would consider it honourable to serve as his fifth columnists in the State.

Opposition to the Great Mughal was the cardinal axiom of Madanna's foreign policy. According to him, Aurangazeb was the one implacable enemy of Golconda. He was prepared to ally himself with any one who promised to stand with him against the Mughal. That was why he entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with Shivaji the Great. And this was the only true policy for Golconda, and Madanna proved himself a far-seeing statesman and his treaty with the Maratha hero was his greatest diplomatic achievement.

Aurangazeb realised the greatness of Madanna and resolved upon his destruction. He subjected both the Sovereign and the Minister to diabolical persecution, but realised that nothing could part them. Abul Hassan loved and revered the brothers, Akkanna and Madanna, and gave them his unflinching support. The Great Mughal was ultimately driven to the last weapon in diplomacy, political assassination. A riot was engineered in the streets of Golconda and the two brothers were attacked and murdered.

Abul Hassan Tana Shah was mad with grief when he came to know the assassination. He felt as Akbar had felt after the murder of Abul Fazl.

The tragic end of the brothers spelt the ruin of Golconda. Events began to move fast, hastening the final catastrophe. There were still faithful servants who were prepared to shed their blood in defence of Golconda and among them, Abul Razak Lari, the bravest of the brave, earned for himself an undying fame. But the pilot was no longer at the helm, and the orphaned State foundered to its doom with unerring fatality. The fifth act

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in the tragedy had a moving grandeur, all its own. Abul Hassan was a philosopher-king who, with the resignation of the true Sufi, would not question God's dispensation but submit to it with a stoic courage that compels homage. His submission is not to a cruel inexorable fate but a devotee's surrender, a Sufi's surrender to God's will, the outward registration of a trusting soul that even in excruciating misery and despondency, could look up to God in supreme affirmation, and say: Thy will be done.

Abul Hassan indeed surrendered his crown to Aurangazeb, his crown which was the symbol of earthly sovereignty, but gained instead the crown of Matrdom, a crown set with thorns, which he joyfully put on, but which none could grudge him. He bore it with exceeding good grace. If he drank of the cup of hemlock, none could have done it in a better mood.

For Abul Hassan was a martyr, and martyr to a great cause. The confusing, obscured and interested propaganda brought to the fore lesser issues on which the attention of contemporaries was rivetted. The immortal Akbar had proclaimed the cause before him. Abul Hassan, even like Akbar, wanted to transform a Muslim Government into a universal Partnership in which the adherents of different creeds would forget their hair-splitting differences and prostrate before God, the Father of all. Abul Hassan was a Sufi with profound peace reigning in his soul. He was a pacifist and was averse to war. He would not be drawn into the bigoted controversies of his age but would stand forth as a King of the Indo-Aryan kind, the father of his subjects. He would make no distinction between Hindu and Muslim, but would hold the balance even between them. All should live peacefully under the shelter of the State.

Under the protecting genius of Abul Hassan and Madanna, a new and synthetic culture would have developed in Golconda, symbolic of peace and goodwill. That the one should have been condemned to pass the evening of his life a prisoner in a dungeon, and the other to a fall beneath the dagger of the assassin are fortuitous events far beyond the ken of the historian. That is where history abdicates and philosophy comes into its own. We can only sing with ineffable sadness along with the poet:

Think, in this batter'd Caravanserai
Whose portals are alternate Night and Day
How Sultan after Sultan with his Pomp
Abode his destin'd Hour and went his way.

Omar Khayyam.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

KILAVAN SETUPATI AND FR. JOHN DE BRITTO

Shri S. NATARAJAN.

Raghunatha Teva familiarly known as Kilavan Setupati ruled for nearly thirty-nine years from 1671-1710 and his memorable reign is important in the history of the Christian missionary activities in the Marava country. Christianity from the beginning did not have a favourable reception. Fondly attached to their religion, the fierce Maravas could not tolerate the condemnation of their religion by the Christian missionaries and the Christians were subjected to much hardship. The most severe persecution took place in 1669 A. D. and from then for nearly twelve years missionary activities were very dull.

The arrival of Fr. John De Britto changed the situation. He was born in Lisbon on the first of March 1647 and belonged to the blue-blooded aristocracy of Portugal. From early life he was trained for distinguished political career. But he was temperamentally best fitted to the life of a missionary and so much against wishes of his relations and the governing authorities in Portugal he became a novice in December 1662. Eleven years later he arrived in India. After working for sometime in Goa and Madura he went to the Marava country in 1681, which had beed neglected by the Christian missionaries since the persecution of 1669. His remarkable zeal, genuine piety and sincerity caught the imagination of the people and recruits to Christianity gradually increased. In 1683 he was made 'Superior' of the Madura Mission.

The persecutors, however, were not idle and Britto was subjected to insults and ill-treatment. But, he bore these with remarkable patience and carried on his work unmindful of what was happening to him. Once he was caught with his catechists in the vicinity of Sivaganga by the orders of Delavay Kumara Pillai, the Chief Minister of the Setupati, and was treated with extreme cruelty. They were about to be impaled, but before this brutal punishment could be inflicted, Kumara Pillai himself was summoned by the Setupati to answer a charge of treason. A few days after this, they were brought to the capital with bleeding feet and lacerated limbs and were kept in confinement for nearly a month. While in prison, Fr. Britto met a number of learned Hindus and had discussions with them.

The Setupati sent several of his ministers and his own eldest son to Fr. Britto to induce him to renounce his faith and accept Hinduism. When these attempts failed, the Setupati decided to meet him. As he was brought to the Court, Kilavan Setupati received him with all show

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of respect and made him sit by his side. In the long conversation that followed, the Setupati said that he summoned Fr. Britto to learn about the doctrines of Christianity and that he was convinced that Christianity was a true religion complete in every detail. Kumara Pillay was very much displeased and disappointed at the trend of the discourse and he tried to divert the conversation by asking the Father to invoke Śiva. When Fr. Britto refused to do that, the Setupati complimented him and even rebuked Kumara Pillay saying that it mattered little whether Fr. Britto invoked Śiva or not. He also checked his own son and some Brahmans who spoke bitterly against the Father and asked him not to give up his faith or the God he adored. The Setupati then set him at liberty, but at the same time forbade his missionary activities among the Maravas. Soon after this Fr. Britto had to leave for Lisbon (December 15th, 1686), when he was appointed "Procureur de la Mission."

Five years later he returned to India and began his work again in the Marava country. With redoubled vigour he laboured among the people and "his industry was well rewarded with a great conquest." He succeeded in bringing about the conversion of a prince, named Tadiya Teva, who in order to follow the Christian principle of monogamy, discarded the numerous ladies of his harem except his first wife who also embraced Christianity. The ladies now decided to avenge themselves on the author of their unhappiness and the most influential among them was Kathalei who was a niece of the Setupati. She represented her case to her uncle and urged him to take immediate action. The Brahmans of the realm instigated by the injured lady convinced the Setupati that spread of Christianity was a serious meance to the kingdom. The Setupati then sent for Tadiya Teva to hear his version of the facts and persuade him to give up his new faith. But the boldness and insolence which he exhibited on this occasion infuriated the Setupati still further, and he would have put him to death immediately but for the influence which Tadiya Teva wielded in the country. The wrath of the Setupati fell upon Fr. Britto who was responsible for all his trouble and orders were issued for the arrest of the Father and the destruction of the churches.

Fr. Britto was brought to Ramnad and kept a prisoner. The Setupati could not take action immediately and things drifted indecisively for some time. Tadiya Teva was exerting his utmost to save his guru and his actions could not be overlooked as his influence was very great. There were many Christians in the Marava country at that time and it was feared that the execution of Fr. Britto would lead to unpleasant distrurbances in the country. But the priests were active in urging the Setupati to take action. An official proclamation was issued banish-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ing Fr. Britto from the realm and he was sent to Orieyur where the Setupati's brother was governor. A secret letter was sent to the Governor to put the Father to death. An eleventh hour attempt was made to save him by the Governor's wife, who was a Christian. But the enemies of Fr. Britto were stronger and the minister of the Prince who was a sworn enemy of Christianity urged him to execute the orders of the Setupati. On the 4th of February he was taken to a raised place overlooking the surrounding areas and was put to death. Fr. Britto, thus, worthily attained the martyrdom which he ardently desired.

Then followed a severe persecution of the Christians which lasted for at least seven years. A letter of Fr. Peter Martin to Fr. Le Gobien dated 1st June 1700, states: "The natives had just before seized upon Father Bernard de Saa, because of his having converted a man belonging to one of their chief castes; they had dragged him before the magistrates, beat out some of his teeth, and grievously scourged his catchists.....The people in general were animated against the Christians."[1] But the opponents of Christianity were disappointed with the results and the martyrdom of Fr. Britto, far from discouraging conversion, actually encouraged it. The constancy, the patience and the deep religious enthusiasm of Fr. Britto made a deep impression among the people and soon some miracles came to be associated with his name. The Governor of Orieyur and his minister died shortly after the martyrdom and their deaths were interpreted as due to the just punishment of God. These supposed miracles worked upon the imagination of the people and many were induced to join the Christian faith. The Hindus also were indignant at the outrageous cruelty shown to the Father. Kilavan Setupati himself later on relented and was kind to the Christians.

In fairness to the Setupati, it must be emphasised that he was not opposed to Christianity as religion and his persecution was not due to his fanaticism. The respect with which the Setupati received Fr. Britto when the latter first visited the court, the keen interest shown by the Setupati in the tenets of the new faith and the snub he administered to his own son, the Chief Minister Kumara Pillay and the Brahmans, who tried to discredit the Father, prove that Kilavan Setupati extended all the respect usually shown to religious men and that he had nothing against Christianity as a religion. Though a staunch Hindu, he was not a persecutor of other religions. An inscription of S. E. 1595 in a masjid at Hanumanthagudi in Tiruvadanai taluk records a gift of land to a Muslim.[2] That he was a friend of the Muslims is further proved by the fact that some Marakayars helped him with money in the cons-

1. John Lockman, Travels of the Jesuits, p. 388.
2. Rangachrya Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, VK. C. 11., p. 1196.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

truction of the fort at Ramnad. In fact, one of the factors which encouraged Fr. Britto to enter the Marava country was the atmosphere of tolerance which had grown and a feeling that Setupati could not interfere. Further as Fr. Britto himself admitted, only the Setupati's ministers were responsible for all the persecution. In his letter dated the 28th March 1692 to Fr. J. da Costa, Secretary to the Provincial, he wrote "Moreover, as the persecution comes from the king's ministers and not directly from the king himself, there is still some hope, and I leave no stone unturned to obtain access to the palace."[1]

The Setupati decided to put down the religion in his territory only when it was pointed out to him that his own position would be imperilled by the increase in the number of converts. Kilavan Setupati's claim to the throne was notoriously weak, and it was natural that he saw danger in every thing. When his predecessor Athina Teva died childless, there was no legal claimant to the pattam. The principal Maravars could not agree as regards the choice of the successor, and an interregnum followed. Slowly Raghunatha Teva worked up his way and became the Setupati. A Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis, the Rulers of the Ramnad Capital, says euphimistically that "as there was no suitable person to succeed to the kingdom, the relations of that Marava tribe, with the inhabitants of the country and the official persons of the capital, all assembled and crowned Raghunatha Dever, the so-called Kilavan Setupati." [2]

One of the aspirants to the pattam was Tadiya Teva. He was a highly influential man and he was baptised on the 6th of January 1693. The number of converts to Christianity was increasing and some of the important army officers, civil servants, and even some of the relations of the Setupati had been converted. It was the great influence of Tadiya Teva that prevented the Setupati from punishing him for the desertion of the Hindu faith and his wife Kadalei. It was for the same reason that the Setupati did not order the execution of Fr. Britto in his capital. He must have felt that if he did not uproot Christianity Tadiya Teve might attempt to gain the throne with the help of his followers and the Christians in the Marava country.

Further the Maravas were noted for their fanaticism capable of unflinching loyalty or inveterate hatred. They were very much disturbed when the number of converts grew and the new religion had crept into the palace. The vile abuses which the preachers of the gospel heaped upon the Hindu gods roused them to a pitch of indignation and turned them into bitter enemies of the missionaries. Kilavan Setupati could

1. Fr. A. Saubiere: Red Sand, p. 408.
2. Taylor: Oriental Historical Manuscripts, Vol. II, p. 51.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

not overlook the feelings of the people and the persecution of the Christians was a tactical move to please his subjects. Thus, his fear of the political consequences of the spread of Christianity, the feeling of the people and lastly the actions of the missionaries themselves were the causes that were responsible for the persecutions which culminated in the martyrdom of Fr. John de Britto.

A COPPER PLATE RECORD (MAHAJARNMÁ) OF 1756 A. D. IN BERAR

SHRI D. B. MAHAJAN.

Introductory:—While persuing his efforts to secure old historical documents of the militant Sardar families of Berar, the writer has succeeded in acquiring a rare set of copper plates dated 26-11-1756. The plates belong to an ordinary Patel (Mokaddam) family of the village Bhapur, in Basim Taluq of Akola district in Berar. The record is of considerable importance and contains facts of historical, legal and Socio-economic interests, then existing in this tract of Berar. Such kind of record found in Berar, is coming to light for the first time.

The set consists of three copper plates each measuring about $3\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches and weighs tolas. They are fastened by hooks at the end of each plate so that they could be easily folded. The front plate bears the seal of the Kazi, Rafi Ullah (H. 1131) in the centre and on the right hand top are inscribed the words "Shri Mangal Murti, Shrimant Maharaj Maharau[2] Janogi Jaswantrao Nimbalkar." On the left corner and below the seal are four lines written in Persian and contain the names of the parties and the substance of the record. The rest of the record is written in Modi script on both sides of the plates and contain 61 lines. The record is intact on the whole, though it is broken at its edges at some places and some letters are lost.

The present writer, had the advantage of visiting the village Bhapur (The find-spot) and Gobhani during his tour as the Superintendent of Land Records, Akola district, and he had the opportunity to verify the names of the families of the Mokaddams etc mentioned in the record. The record is doubtlessly authentic, genuine and is really important and interesting as it throws fresh light on various facts, which are enumerated below;—

Socio-economic conditions:— The present Mahajarnama vividly describes that due to disturbances–probably political and military–almost the entire

1. Settlement. Award or decision.
2. "Maharau" is a title conferred upon Janoji Nimabalkar.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Paragana of Risod was completely devastated and was laid barren. The villages were deserted by the people as their lives and property were unsafe; food became scarce and they were in bad plight. They were therefore compelled to migrate into "*Desh*" in search for food. Much of the land was lying waste and some was also fallow. To populate the villages and reclaim and bring the waste land under the plough required great cooperation and tremendous efforts on the part of the proprietors and the peasants.

Historical background;— The period (1756) during which these economic conditions prevailed in Berar, is important in the history of the Marathas. It was in the following year i.e. 1757 AD that the historic battle of *Sindhkhed* was fought between the Peshwas and the Nizam. In spite of the economic condition as stated above the Peshwas scored a grand victory over the Nizam. The Peshwas, Nanasaheb and Sdashiorao Bhau, were personally present during the battle and Dattaji Shindhe was the hero of the campaign. This battle marks the beginning of the stupendous struggle the Marathas carried on under the leadership of the Peshwas, till the great battle of Panipat (1761) which marks the turning point in the history of the Marathas. Sindhkhed is not far away from the village Bhapur (Risod) and we can well imagine the conditions of the masses and their morale during that time.

(ii) The record reveals to us the name of Maharau Janoji Jaswantrao Nimabalkar, the Sardar (also Subhedar of Aurangabad) of the Nizam and Vynakatrao Nimabalkar his assistant. The name on the seal viz Kazi Rafi Ullah, is known to us for the first time. Maharau Janoji Nimabalkar took pains and adopted the old system of leasing out the waste lands and populating the deserted villages and granted certain rights and privileges to the lessees who would carry out the project. Thus more than hundred years prior to the framing of the Rules for leasing out waste Lands of Berar, (1865 A.D.) the system of such leases was prevalent in the tract. What the Resident of Hydrabad, Sir George Yule, did in 1865, is nothing but the adoption of these rules already prevalent and no special credit of inventing the system need now be given to the Resident. Thus the Mahajarnama supplied to us the origin of the Legislation viz the Waste Land Rules of 1865, A. D. and that Janoji Nimabalkar was the first to advocate and introduce them in Berar in the year 1756 A. D.

(iii) The record incidentally enlightens us on the mode of transfer of Mokaddami rights by mutual consent of parties. It enumerates the various rights a Makaddam enjoys. The rights mentioned in the plates are as follows;—

(a) Right in Mangoes and Mango trees and also Awali trees and other trees and shrubs.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(b) Right in the village site (पांढरी) and culturable land (काकी)
(c) Right to lead the bullocks in the "Pola" festival (पोक्याचा बैल)
(d) Honour of offering the first cake in the "Holi" (होळीची पोकी)
(e) Right to have the head load of fuel. (ढाकडाची मोकी)
(f) Right to accept presents and Pan on behalf of Government (सरकारचा। शिरपाव व पान)
(g) Right to have the "Sela" in marrige (सुग्ताचा सेला)

Some Mokaddams in Ijara aud Jahagir villages in Berar are still enjoying the above rights but the practice is fast disappearing.

Legal aspe t of the record:—From the present record we can also get an idea of the mode of transfer of property then thought to be legal as there was no elaborate system of Registration etc. The record is a peculiar example of such conveyance. There is the religious sanction (Sha.a Mahammad) as the seal of the Kazi has been affixed on it. It bears the name of the Subhedar Nimabalkar and also the Paragana officer. Among the names of the attesting witnesses are the twelve Balotdars viz 1. The carpenter 2. The Barber 3. Mahar and respectable persons residing in the neighbourhood, and also the "Mokaddams" of neighbouring villages. The scribe is a most influential man Bapuji Girdhar, who is well versed in Persian language. These where the various formalities to be observed before a document was accepted to be genuine and binding upon the parties and the persons claiming through them. The language of the record is no doubt Marathi, but is obviously highly mixed up with Urdu and Persian words.

Translation of the copper plates

"On Friday[1] in the month of Margeshwar, in Dhatra[2] Samwastar "of 1678 Shaka year, Wakeji S/O Viraji Izaradar Raghoji" Dhodije Mokaddam of half the share in the village Bhapur Pra. Risod, in Sarkar Mehekar Subha Berar Balaghat-Summa San 1166, hereby gives in writing this "Mahajarnama" to Harabaji Shabaji Izardar and Harbaji Garali(?) "of village Gobhani, Pra Risod, as follows;— That out of the" whole Mokaddami of the said village the half share belongs to Raghoj i Dhodije. To him, we are hereby granting half the share out of our original half share. Rs. 165/- have been accepted and accounted for. You may enjoy the Mokaddami from heir to heir. We have given you half share out of our half, for the reasons of disturbances which have devasted the entire Paragana and laid it barren and depopulated; for several days the villages remained deserted. We migrated into "Desh". Here being no food to eat. We sufferred immensly. Punya Paratap Shrimant.[3] . . . . Jahagirdarsaheb received Jahagir at the close of san 1160. In 1161 (San), on his

3. The corresponding date according to the current calender work out accurately as 28-11-1756; kindly supplied and verified by Pro Palthakar of Yeotmal.
4. This is obviously a mistake in writing. It ought to be "Dhata" Samwastar and not "Dhatra".
5. and 6, The space is left blank.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

behalf, Vyankatrao Nimabalkar came to Paragana (Risod) and after meeting the Jamedars and the Patels agreed to lease out the village to our benefit. We were moving in the Deulgaon Paragana to earn our livinge. We were almost destitutes. It was agread to re-habilitate the villag and bring the land under the plough; but we were born poor and even unable to procure food. The Jahagirdar took pity on us and brought us here and treated us as brothers. You should thus lease out the village and pay the government dues and enjoy half the share out of our original half share, which amounts to 1/4th share of the whole Mokaddami of the village. You should take your share and give us our own. So also the right in the Mangoes and the mango trees, the Awali trees and shrubs, the village site (पांढरी) and culturable and (काकी) good as well as bad totalling; about....[6].....Also the right to lead the bullocks in the Pola-Festival, and that of offering the first cake in the "Holi" and the right of receiving the head load of fuel, and that of receiving the "Sirpaw" and Pan and the right of receiving the Sela in marriage and recovering other taxes are all conferred on you. In this way half Mokaddmi of Raghoji Dhodije and half ours and out of our half we give half to you. May you enjoy the same from generation to generation after re-habilitating the village. If any claimant appears and obstructs you, we shall see to that. This Mahajarnama is executed. Scribe Bapuji Girdhar Pandya of the same village and Paragana."

WITNESSES

DESHMUKH — DESHMUKH

Janaji Ranganath Deshapandiye

1. Dewaji S/O Edoji Mokaddan of Ramgaon Pra Risod.
2. Mokaddam, Vithoji Brahmin. Patil of Mangrul. Pra Sihur.
3. Bhaji Gawali Mokaddam of Karad Pra Nadashi
4. Jabaji S/O Ganagaji Bodakhe Mokaddam of Dhadap Bk.
5. Ekoji S/O Kanhoji Sutar of the same village.
6. Waghanak S/O Babanak.(mahar)
7. Thakarnak S/O Khojnakh (do.) of the same village.
8. Mahadaji S/O Renakoji Khabale Mokaddam Gobhani Pra Risod.
9. Darakoji Mokoddam of Wadaji Pra Wakad.
10. Ghawaji Kharathe M. Kamo Kenwa Pra. Sirpur.
11. Ranagaji Pagore Mokaddam of Barhai Pra Mehkar.
12. Kamaji Kusnaji Barber, Gobhi.
13. Bhojanak S/O Ramnak Phahal of the same village.
14. Rajnak S/O Dawanak Fahal of the same village (Mahar)
15. Harabaji S/O Shabaji.
16. Rayaji S/O Gorkhoji.
17. Ganaji S/O Udoji.
18. - mad S/O Manakoji.
19. Soraji S/O Babaji.

7. Deulgaon Raja is in Buladana district in Berar.
8. "*Balaghat*", Hilly country. It is known as southern part of Berar, The other portion is known as Paya-Ghat or Pyne-Ghat.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE BATTLE OF DODDERI FROM KANNADA SOURCES

Sri G. S. Dikohit

This battle took place in 1698 A.D. between the Mughal forces led by Quasim Khan the able governor of Sīrya in Mysore and Khanazad Khan "a Persian of the highest descent", on the one hand, and Santaji Ghorpaḍe the great Maratha hero and his ally Baramappa Nayak the chieftain of Chitaldrug, (in Mysore), on the other. The Maasir-i-Atamgiri[1] and Khafi Khan[2] give a vivid account of the battle. This account may be summarised as follows. Santaji Ghorpade was in his camp in northwestern Mysore after looting the Bijapur district. Aurangzib ordered Quasim Khan and Khanazad Khan to intercept him and punish him. Santaji came to know of this Mughal plan, evidently through his friend the chief of Chitaldrug[3] and himself marched to meet the Mughals. Both the armies clashed near Dodderi, about 22 miles east of Chitaldrug. The Mughals were defeated and they retired to the small fort at Doḍḍēri and shut themselves in. For three days the Marathas did not attack the Mughals till one thousand infantry from the Zamindar of Chitaldrug, who had been humiliated by Quasim Khan, came out to fight, on getting an opportunity. As there was no food within the fort, it was only a question of time as to when the Mughals would surrender. Quasim Khan who was very much addicted to opium, died for want of it. Khanazad Khan begged for safety and a truce was made on condition that he would surrender all valuables, in addition to twenty lakhs of rupees. The Marathas observed these conditions as the truce and let the Mughals retire in safety.

This battle made a great impression on the local people. The ballad[4] on this battle current in Doḍḍēri says that the chieftain of Chitaldrug fought Khan because the latter demanded tribute which the former refused to give. This substantiates the accouut in Massir-i-Alamgiri which says that the Zamindar of Chitaldrug joined the Marathas because Quasim Khan had humiliated him.[5]

There are two accounts regarding the death of Quasim Khan. One is that he died for want of opium. Another is that he commited suicide in order to escape ignominy. The ballad of Doḍḍēri supports the latter

1 p. 226
2 E & D VII, p 355
3 Sardesai, New History of the Marathas. I, p. 335
4 Collected by Sri. H. Srinivasa Jois, Curator, Chitaldrug Museum, Chitaldrug, who very kindly gave a copy of it to the auttor.
5 ibid., p. 228

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

view. It says that in order to escape punishment at the hands of the angry emperor he drank poison and died in his tent.

The ballad, however, does not speak of the part played by the Marathas in this battle. The history of the chieftains of Chitaldrug[1] based on Kannaḍa chronicles supplies this lacuna. In "1698 A. D. Santaji Ghorpade came with 20,000 cavalry. The Subedar of Sirya Quasim Khan came from Talaku to Dodderi on a campaign and hid himself in the fort of Dodderi. The Chief of Chitaldrug sent his horsemen under the leadership of Kuditani Venkanna and Holalkere Bommanna. Quasim Khan died and the fort fell into the hands of the Chief of Chitaldrug." The Kannaḍa accounts claim that Dodderi fell to the Chief of Chitaldrug; another account says that Santaji Ghorpade retained it.[2]

Another incident in the fight between the Mughals and Chitaldrug is described by an inscription.[3] "The stone image of the god Ahobala Narasimha of Niratadi being made anew, the Dilli Patshah's army having come and destroyed the god and his temple, the mahanayakachary Baramaṇṇa Nayaka caused it to be again set up, restored the temple and made a grant of land." This inscription makes it clear that in 1698, the Delhi Padshah's army destroyed the idol of Ahobala Narasimha in the temple at Niratadi in the Chitaldrug district, and evidentally after the victory of Dodderi, Baramanna Nayaka the chief of Chitaldrug restored the idol and the temple.

Thus the ballad of Doḍḍēri, the chronicles of the chieftains of Chitaldrug and the inscription at Niratadi make it clear that the people and the chieftain of Chitaldrug region fought the Mughals, when they tried to impose their rule on them and when the Marathas carried on their war of independence, these people supported them.

INDO-PERSIAN POLITICAL RELATIONS IN THE AGE OF THE GREAT MUGHALS

Professor S. H. Askari

The paper represents an attempt to throw fresh, at places new, light on the Indo-Persian relation by utilizing the materials some of which have been made available to the writer by a colleague who recently returned from Persia. The large number of letters scattered in the pages of the *Munshaat* and the *Bayaz* throw a good deal of light on the politico-religious pretensions, diplomatic tussle, and moves and counter-moves of

1 M. S. Puttanna, Pulaygars of Chitradurga (in Kannada), p. 41
2 Sarkar, House of Shivaji, p. 233
3 Epigraphica Carnatica XI, DG 164

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Timurids and the Safavids and they enable us to mark the change from alliance, friendship and cordiality into mutual jealousy, distrust, and conflict. Religion was mixed up with politics in the triangular contest between the Safavids of Persia, the Timurids of India and the Ottomans of Turkey. Of course the affair of Qandhar looms large in these correspondence and it, at times, generated such feeling of bitterness that there was a threat of large-scale invasion of the countries on either side of the Indus and the Kabul rivers. Political rather than the religions considerations explain the attitude of the earlier sovereigns of the two Houses, but sectarian feelings distinctly influenced political matters in the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. In Shah Jahan's time there was a definite move for a Mughal-Ottoman alliance against Persia over the question of liberation of the holy land of Baghdad from the hated heretical Qizilbashes. There was also the question of the Shiite states of the Deccan, patronized and used politically by the Persians to counteract the political aggression and imperialistic designs of the Indian Mughals.

SOME LIGHT ON THE MANSABDARI SYSTEM OF THE MUGHALS

SHRI PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE

There is considerable difference in *zat* and *swar's* meaning.

Mr. Blochmann thinks that *zat* was the original rank for which a *mansabdar* drew his salary, *sawar* was the number he actually kept. Mr. Irvine holds that *sawar* was an additional honour and indicated the actual number. Dr. R. P. Tripathi thinks that *sawar* was an honour for which an extra-allowance was paid. It had nothing to do with numbers. These are the important views so far.

I strongly feel that the truth about the matter was that *zat* was the civilian distinction for which an allowance was paid, and which indicated the 'civilian caste' of the *mansabdars*. It seems that *sawar* was the 'military rank' of the *mansabdars*, which indicated the actual numbers as well as the basis for which they drew their actual salary.

Most of the civilian posts were in charge of the *mansabdars* who were military officers. It is that since they had to do two functions they must receive pay and allowance for both, otherwise they are bound to neglect one of the function. Now *sawar* so clearly means a 'rider' that it must indicate the military rank. *Zat* means 'caste' or 'kind'. Now, this must refer to the civilian caste of the *mansabdars*. For this they drew an extra-allowance; when they drew their actual salary for the *sawar* rank,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which also indicated the actual number of soldiers maintained by them. The *sawar* was their military rank, whereas the *zat* was their civilian rank.

THE SO-CALLED SANTAJI'S CHHATREE AT PUSHKAR

SHRI S. B. L. MATHUR

In this paper an attempt has been made to explain that the so-called Santaji's Chhatree at Gau Ghat Pushkar is really the Chhatree of his father Ranoji Babhle. The same Chhatree was no doubt built by his son Santaji Babhle, who is referred to by Sir J. N. Sarkar in his 'Fall of the Mughal Empire', Vol. II, Chap. XVIII, page 176. It has been attempted that the Chhatree does not stand on the remains of Santaji and the popular tradition that Santjai died at Nagore in 1755 A. D. has been proved to be far from truth. In fact it has been proved that Santaji was alive as late as 1774 A. D.

FUTUHU-S-SALATIN

DR. MAHDI HUSAIN

This paper contains the results of a critical study and collation not only of the Agra and Madras editions of the *Futuhu-s-Salatin* but also of its Indian office and Hyderabad manuscripts. The I.O.Ms. contains 11,525 verses while the H.Ms. has 11,693. The Madras edition presents 11,727 verses, out of which 34, composed by the editor, are added in the footnotes. But the genuine verses which have been recovered from the two Mss. do not exceed 11,693; and 307 verses must be considered as 'lost' for the strength of Isami's *Futuhu-s-Salatin* was 12,000 verses. Says he,

> 'In these days when learning is at a discount and knowledge is not in request . . I have set my hands to this work and have composed *12,000* verses.'

The I.O. Ms. is much older, written probably during the 10th century Hijra/16th century A.D. while the H.Ms. was apparently written some 400 years later. But neither of them bears a date, nor mentions the place of writing, nor even the scribe's name.

The I.O. Ms. has lacunae on Fs. 327a and 327b. But the missing verse amounting to seven in each case are supplied by the H.Ms. While the H.Ms. is immune from the ravages of time and humidity. many of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the folios of the I.O. Ms. are badly affected and the folios—244a, 244b; 245b; 258a, 258b; 259a, 259b; 260a; 262a and 263a and 263b are mercilessly damaged.

The H.Ms. has shortcomings of its own, *e.g.* omission of verses, phrases, words and parts of words. It lacks two verses—3938 and 5525 in the first instance and in the second instance two sets of verses—24 (9175-9134) and 14(11343-11356). All these are found in the I.O. Ms. The H.Ms. suffers also from faulty orthography and errors of words, eg. *shahr* for *shor*, and *tor* for *pur*.

Both the Mss. are marred by unnecessary repetitions. The I.O. Ms. gives verse 907 twice and the H.Ms. presents a similar case in verse 1781. Other instances may be seen on pages i. 9, 24 and 25 of this paper. Some verses are missing from both the Mss.; vide pages 3 and 33 for the verses found in reverse order in the Mss. vide pp. 15, 17, 18, 27 and 35. For minor differences of words or set of words see pp. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

On the whole the I.O. Ms. is a better one. It is less faulty and yields better results.

SOME MUHAMMADAN RITES AS OBSERVED DURING MUGHAL TIMES

Dr. P. N. Chopra

In this article an attempt has been made to take brief note of some of the important Muhammadan rites *viz.*, Aqiqah, Bismillah (initiation), Sunnat (Circumcision) etc. as they were observed during Mughal times. Incidentally some other interesting customs which followed a child's birth have also been described. The account is based on contemporary Persian sources and foreign travellers.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SECTION V
FROM 1765 ONWARDS

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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FRIENDS,

It is my first duty to express my grateful thanks to the members of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for giving me the privilege of presiding over the deliberations of Section V, relating to Modern Indian History from 1765 onwards, during the present Session of the Congress. My specialised field of study relates to International History and, as a student of research, I am, for the last few years, tapping at the door of and making modest attempts at pecking at a subject having reference to South-East Asia—a subject which has not yet been treated adequately and covers a practically untrodden field which has to be worked upon the basis of many unpublished and unknown sources. I am, thus, conscious of my limitations and have no unjustifiable pretentions to hold the Chair of this Section in the presence of a galaxy of eminent scholars and specialised research-workers on this field.

History, indeed, is the expression of a people's pride in the past. Still, I feel, the study of history must not be a mere study of antiquity which would make the mind a slave to tradition, but must be broad-based to develop the faculties of wide comprehension and critical analysis of the turn and flow of events in their true perspective. The Norwood Report's theory of instruction was founded on the fact that the extension of interest of a student of history takes place most naturally from the history of his own country to the larger field of foreign history.

No political question is more important, or of more intimate concern to every thinking man and woman of today—How far can we love our native country best and yet contrive to become cosmopolites in the best sense of the term? The Final Session of the Fortieth Annual General Meeting of the Historical Association on 5 January 1946 at University College, London, was devoted to a discussion of 'International Understanding and the Teaching of History." The discussion was led by Mr. G. T. Hankin and Professor Toynbee and centred on the need of a wide historical background, since goodwill among nations can be best increased by the mutual understanding of one another's culture and history. The Universities and Historical Associations of the West and the U. S. A. are revising their methods of treatment and research in the light of the new orientation of history. Indeed when there is a question of under-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

standing the component parts of the world in which we live, a student of International History is better equipped than one who has studied only the history of a particular nation-state, for he can survey the development of civilisation as a whole and can appreciate with intelligence and a spirit of criticism the problems arising from the contact of different civilisations such as confront us at the present day and thus interpret the process of current affairs against an accurate back-ground of historical knowledge.

It is not my intention, in any way, to minimise the importance of the history of my own native land. On the contrary, the force and significance of my observations can only be appreciated after an analytical review of the gradual extension of British influence over the political and economic life of India. The general situation in the country was not unlike that of Europe in the Middle Ages. India presented a geographic and cultural unity but there was no semblance of a compact national state organization. As a whole she was composed of practically independent feudal units with important regional differences and subject to the individualistic interests of particular personalities or particular social grounds. By inevitable force of circumstances, India was drawn into the vortex of European politics and Indian policy was inevitably defined and shaped by the needs of the situation in Europe throughout the existences of the East India Company. The trend of developments in India cannot be appreciated isolated from or without any reference to the international drama which was being played by Britain on the continent of Europe with Indian commerce and supremacy as the prize.

Moreover, the influx of a vast amount of tropical produce was bound to have important reactions upon the life of Great Britain. Apart from the turn it gave to the habits and tastes of the people, the tropical trade and the mercantilist wars were to a great extent responsible for the series of epoch-making changes during the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century (1760-1840), which marked the transition of England "from a country predominantly agricultural to a country predominantly industrial, from an economy dominated by merchant capital to one dominated by industrial capital, from a country with class conflicts relatively masked and suppressed to one divided into classes violently and inevitably antagonistic." Marvellous transformations occurred in the use of the cotton trade as the result of either the conditions of the time, or of "the big thoughts and extraordinary ingenuity of a few mechanicians, Lewis Paul, Lawrence Earnshaw, Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, and Peel." Scarcely begun before 1750, the cotton manufacture had, by the close of the eighteenth century, become a great national concern. Lancashire, in consequence, "threw aside her almost pastoral simplicity and assumed the more active and stirring occupations of indus-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

try and manufactures". The woollen industry, which had been driven to a dull and unsatisfactory condition in the villages and townships of Yorkshire, underwent a similar, though not so rapid, transformation with the mechanical inventions. Other branches of industry received an equal impetus. The industrial developments enhanced the value of the tropics as markets for home manufactures and as sources of supply for raw materials and foodstuffs. Without an abundance of the raw materials which the tropics alone could supply, the industries of England would almost come to a standstill. The East, thus, came to be fully appreciated "in the economy of civilization", and began to exert a powerful influence upon the policy of the homeland. By 1840, India had become the centre and keystone of the whole economic, and financial structure of Britain. India was not only an important sea-link in the series of strategic settlements on the eastern seas for the preservation of British influence in the East against foreign intrusion, she also came to be closely related with internal developments in Britain. The affairs on the continent kept reacting on the process of events in India. At the same time election campaigns, the appeal to Lancashire, the change of ministries and political parties, the influence of industrialist groups in Parliament, all rested on the Indian issue and shaped the course of British domestic history. I am tempted to quote here the remarks of Sardar Pannikar in his "A Survey of Indian History":

'It is legitimate to speak of a British period, i.e. of a period when the policies relating to India were determined by the interests of another country situated far away....There is undoubtedly a history of the British in India starting from the establishment of the first factories to the withdrawal of the last British soldier from the Indian soil. It is connected with India as it happened on the Indian soil, but it is no more a part of Indian history than, say, MacArthur's occupation of Japan is a part of Japanese history. It is an important chapter of British history and as such deserves to be studied by those interested in the history of British achievements overseas. But in relation to India it never became true history, as the government at no time became national, but always deliberately remained foreign. This is what differentiates such a period as that of Moghul power in North India from British Rule. The Moghuls might have been a foreign dynasty, but with their capital in India and with but little connection with their homelands, they became truly Indian and their government national. The history of the great Moghuls is, therefore, a part of Indian history. The position is very different in the case of the British. Only by the resistance it gave rise to and the forces it generated either by contact or by reaction that British authority touched the inner life of the Indian people. It will thus be seen that the importance

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

attached to the British period, and the disproportionate space which it takes up in our text books are altogether unjustified and can only be considered as the survival of British propaganda."

The modern historian no longer accepts the view that the acquisition of sovereign authority in India by the English East India Company is something marvellous or strange. To consider the rise and development of British power in the East as the sudden intrusion of an European element into the Asiatic void is not only unhistorical but unscientific. Seeley himself an advocate of the theory of "in a fit of an absence of mind", admits that the rise and ascendancy of Napoleon Bonaparte, his control over the greater part of Europe, and his ultimate fall in less than twenty years "is intrinsically far more wonderful" than the final triumph of the East India Company, for "Bonaparte began without interest, without friends, with out a penny in his pocket" while the East India Company was "a chartered corporation with a subscribed capital to fall back upon, and the prestige of the nation to support it". The ideas with which modern sociological writers have made us familiar are those of evolution and of gradual development and adaptation to circumstances in the social and political organism discerned in all communities. The course of the East India Company is marked by the working out of certain definite principles and, the operation of certain general causes. The Company was an incidental product of the prevailing doctrines of mercantilist economy which were embodied in state regulations and based on power considerations. The tendency of the mercantilist state,—which rested on a strong centralized monarchy and an affluent commercial middle class to the weakening and disruption of medieval aristocratic traditions, feudal localism, and corporative economic life, —to expand was inevitable. Commercial capitalism fed and nourished the state by the dispersal of home products and the introduction of tropical commodities. The Whigs, the preponderant party in British politics since the Revolution of 1688, became the party of trading interests and took advantage of their power and influence in the British legislature to legislate for the bourgeois merchant in English society and for the successful operation of the mercantile system. The adoption of restrictive policies and the efforts to break down the competing control of antagonistic nations inevitably led to the widespread international mercantilist conflicts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even Napoleon held pronounced mercantilist views when he, in futile efforts, wasted his energies to displace the British and to revive the French colonial empire in India. The British, in any case, would have become involved in the internal conflict in India to protect the trading posts and forts which the India Company had established at strategic points along the coasts and which were the stepping-stones to British expansion into the hinterland. In any case, the China trade had to be safe-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

guarded and its profits kept alive. Unfettered communication was to be kept open by sea to Madras and by land or sea, to Bombay. The Directors of the Company could in no way by-pass the immense pressure of the mercantile community and of the Admiralty for a convenient halting station for the merchant vessels proceeding to Canton, and a commodious, strategic naval outpost within striking distance from Calcutta and Madras for the shelter and refitment of battered ships. The shortage of war materials in oak, cordage, hemp, salt-petre, and other products which the tropics alone could produce in abundance, also pointed to the obvious necessity of a settlement on the Indian Ocean or on the islands of the eastern archipelago. The English East India Company was compelled to adopt projects of defensive ambitions and the germs of the Indo-British Empire were laid on the frustrated hopes of France. India was, during this period, fastened to the apron-strings of British political and economic interests and formed a significant unit in the perfect line of positions on the trading-routes of the day extending across the stretches of water from the British Isles to the Far East.

By 1763, the maritime powers of Europe finally retired from all serious rivalry with England in India either in conquest or in commerce. Extensive political changes do not hang on petty personal factors but on the relative and ultimate sources of power of the parties concerned. The final issue between the two rival Companies was determined by the nature of their organisation and by the results of their struggle for superiority on all the seas, and not by the petty fights, alliances, and intrigues in India. Both the English and the French attempted to turn the obnoxious cabals of Indian politics to their advantage. But Dupleix forgot that the roots of any European dominion in Asia must be planted in the motherland, and did not calculate the necessity of a secure line of communication with home by sea with strategic naval bases to command control or of convenient economic spheres on the Indian littoral for the supply of emergent resources. This was the inherent weakness of the French. The failure of the aspirations of Indo-Gallic statesmen to extirpate the Anglo-Indian name from India may also be ascribed to the neglect to establish a functional relationship between the state and other vital social classes in the body politic. The relative superiority of the English was in naval strength and in financial resources under independent management under the charter system. The interests of the English Company were the interests of the nation at large, and official patronage and support, since then, became more and more marked. It is not likely that either Bute or Grenville spent much thought over Indian affairs. The East India interest had not, as yet, become a potent factor in English politics, and English-society, though tolerant of the prevalent aristocratic corruption, was extremely severe on the "Nabobs". The Nabob was an inevitable third

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

act character for mimicry on the stage of London. But a conscious effort to transform "a sprawling and ineffective colonial empire into a centralized political empire came into operation at the time when George III with his ambition for centralization, was seizing control of the patronage and building up a party in the House of Commons. Moreover, England was developing a largely capitalistic social order and the East India interests, enriched by "the plunder of the Ganges" was gradually building up important followings in the Commons through systematic bribery and corrupt control of elections. No wonder, the legislation of the period tended to reflect the program of the Nabob and the Company's interests in Parliament. The interpenetration of the landed aristocracy and the mercantile interests thus came to have significant bearings in the formulation of Indian policy.

The question of Parliamentary interference in the affairs of the East India Company first came into practical importance about the year 1766. In Cobbett's Parliamentary History a very large space is devoted to Indian debates from 1767 to the end of the century. The contention often raised that "until the end of the century the Company was above the turmoil of party politics" is difficult to substantiate from the Parliamentary proceedings of the period relating to Indian affairs. To cover up the financial deficiency of the state resulting from the Seven Years' War, Chatham welcomed Beckford's suggestion of "looking to the East and not to the West" for deflecting to the public treasury "the territorial as distinguished from the mercantile revenues" of the Company. An imperial statesman of the type of Chatham was now ready to give a final shape to the 1759 views of withdrawing the territories from the control of a mere mercantile Company and placing them under the direct authority of the Crown. In spite of the strength of the Townshend-Rockingham section, who were opposed to the theory of reserving the territorial revenues of the Company to the Crown as "inconsistent with the faith of Charters or respect for property", Chatham, with the support of Grafton and Shelburne, entrusted Beckford to move in the House of Commons (November 25,1766) for a committee "to inquire into and to publish the state of the revenue and other affairs of the East India Company". The resulting prolonged and pungent party conflicts in Parliament on the Indian issue, led to the promulgation of the first imperial statute for India, the Regulating Act whose provisions were buried in the dead leaves of future legislation. It marks the beginning of popular conscience at home, which had become keenly sensible to "the black period of irresponsible misrule of the Company" and felt that the affairs of the Company should not any longer be left uncontrolled by Parliament. From 1772 onwards, "Indian affairs were constantly before Parliament in both its legislative and its judicial aspect". British mercantilism received a rude shock in the loss of the American

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

colonies in 1783. Under the influence of Adam Smith and the group of liberal and conservative romanticists the complexion of British imperial policy during the closing years of the eighteenth century, was considerably modified, and was responsible for the defeat of the Coalition Ministry of Fox and North on the issue of the Indian question. As Dr. Philips pertinently puts, "For the first time in Parliamentary history, an Indian affair had fundamentally altered the course of politics in England." In the general election of 1784 and the Parliamentary struggle for the introduction of Pitt's Bill "the East India Company interests had discovered that it had beocme a potent factor in politics. The Nabob and the Company's merchants had paved the way for the industrial capitalists following in their wake. Pitt's Bill marked the end of a well-defined period in the Company's history both in India and in England". A conscious effort to transform the commercial into a political empire had come into operation. Evidently what had satisfied the purely commercial needs of the seventeenth century was inadequate for the political diplomacy of the eighteenth.

The European antagonism had, for the most part, been responsible for the English conquests and annexations in India. It had forced the English administration in India to a policy of subjugating the Indian powers and provided the motive force for the forward policy of the proconsuls. By 1823, all India was directly or indirectly under British control. Thereafter expansion was at the expense of frontier states. The British government in India, no longer involved in a struggle for existence, assumed an unchallenged patronage in all its dealings with the Indian states on the basis of their subordinate relationship. Not one of the Indian powers could measure its strength, on a status of equality against the powerful East India Company. By 1830, the imperial system based on mercantilists principles tended to lose its appeal to the British ruling class. The withdrawal of the monopoly of the Company by the Act of 1813, and the closing of their commercial business in 1833, facilitated the export of Lancashire cotton goods into the undeveloped Indian market and was responsible for the destruction of the handloom industry of India, just as "it killed cottage industries in Britain and elsewhere". Dr. Bowring's speech in Parliament in 1853, tells us:

> "The Dacca muslins, celebrated over the whole world for their beauty and fineness, are almost annihilated because of the cheaper English manufacture. Dacca, the main centre of the Indian textile industry, was depopulated."

By the destruction of the village handicraft industry the self-supporting communities which formed "the ground pattern of Indian social life" were gradually blotted out of existence. The triumph of English industrial capitalism was complete. The functions of the Company were taken

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

over directly by the British government in 1858. The East India Company had outlived its existence and was dissolved.

It was not my desire to exhaust your patience with a narrative account of the too familiar facts in the activities of the English Company in India. But if a history of the British in India is to be reconstructed in future out of the materials scattered through the mass of records now made available to the public it is our duty to expound, in the scientific spirit of a true historian, the varied and complex problems that have taken place in India with the rise, growth and organization of the British power. At all stages whether it was a phase in British foreign policy, or a piece of domestic legislation, shaped in the course of the drift of contemporary trends of European thought in literature, politics and economics from rationalism to romantiscism and realism, the question of British dominion in India has been too strongly affiliated with such process to permit us to adopt safely an insular and parochial attitude. This humble address is an attempt to place the above contention before you with a background to the year 1765 with which this Modern Indian History Section is concerned.

By the year 1765, the representative forces of the country in northern India had succumbed to British power and a great part of the revenues of the Carnatic had been acquired by the Company. Clive was sent out to organise the government of Bengal and the foundation was laid of what is known as the "double" or "masked" government—a proof of the political imbecility to which the Moghul and the Nawab of Bengal had sunk. The Company was established as a ruling power as well as an organisation for trade though it did not, as yet, directly govern any large district in India. The English, in fact. took some time to break through the feudal organisation and subjugate the formidable semi-independent frontier chieftains before a complete political sovereignty could be established in Bengal. An analogy may be found in the opposition of the local chieftains in Anglo-Saxon England to William the Conqueror, and to ignore this fact will be to ignore one of the most fundamental factors of the period in the history of Bengal and the early history of the Company. The facts of the period are still buried in the limbo of the unexplored archives of the several districts of Bengal.

No definite and rigid date may be fixed for the development of the sovereignty of the British in Bengal which forms an important phase in the continuous history of the English Company in its early stages. It was gradual, slow, progressive, and to a great extent shaped by the political events in Europe. If we are to accept the theory of the unity of history, which the philosophic Freeman was never tired of emphasizing with indefatigable iteration, or the culture epoch theory of Karl Lamprecht and his followers, or the more recent "Pauline unitary view of history" of Dr.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Toynbee, if we are willing to consider the history of India as an organic whole and accept the view that in India, as elsewhere, the present has grown historically out of the past, then it would be a mistake to regard "periods" as so many air tight compartments having no reference or relation to one another. The Simon Report of 1930 has shown that a close and intimate study of Indian history is necessary to any one who attempts to deal with the modern question of Indian self-government. For how can we hope to understand the land revenue policy of the Company in India without knowing something of the principles on which the Moghul system rested or without a knowledge of the genius and characteristics of Hindu civilization? Again in the generation following 1815, certain definite ideals as regards the government of dependencies and certain definite concepts regarding the nature and responsibilities of Empire were being evolved in the English political world in accordance with the march of events in English history. The juridical and administrative policy of the Company and the significant constitutional changes can be appreciated only in reference to the fundamental principles defined in Durham's Report which inspired Britain's later colonial policy and were regarded as equally applicable to British India. India had never lost touch with the past. The chain of development, the continuity of things, the inter-relation with western thought and politics, has seldom been snapped or violently interrupted. The defence for division into periods can be advanced only on reasons of convenience for study and research in Indian history. For one thing the days of specialisation are with us. The temper of our present time is adverse to generalisation. The sound of research is heard in the highways as well as the byways of every department of study.

The materials available for examination on British Indian history are simply bewildering in their immensity and the field for study and research which lies practically unexplored among diplomatic archives is almost inexhaustible. At a modest estimate we have over two centuries of continuous written records behind us. Beyond these lies a vast category of private records no less valuable for historical study. Their very extent is unknown. They are often inaccessible. They are not always properly preserved from decay, and above all, the finest collections are often dispersed by sale. It is true, a lead has been given for the preservation of such records and a great deal is being done by the several regional Records Societies for the safety and integrity of private collections, but, for a fuller understanding of national history, it is the duty of historians to make a conscious effort to preserve the past intact to avoid the danger of a breach in our historical tradition. The labour of historians must be supplemented by a more systematic and better planned financial assistance from the state, since the best method of the preservation of the original sources, public, private, and local is to put them into print.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

It is not possible in the short space of an Address to detail the vast accumulation of material in monographs essential for the framing of a reorientated history of India. But in the course of an investigation of documents, a clear concept of the formative period of British Indian history will be incomplete without reference to the Admiralty Papers in the Public Record Office, the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, and the Factory Records at the India Office. The events that led England to realise the importance of strengthening her influence at the entrance of the Arabian Sea and the expediency of opening the passage to India by way of the Red Sea and the Suez, to search the eastern seas for strategic settlements, and to despatch missions to Arab and frontier states, are worthy of scrutiny and analysis. Herein will be discerned the true germs of British political ascendancy in India, and will lead to a better appreciation of the neglected Shore and Minto in the light of the imperial policy dictated by the needs of the time.

We have to be constantly on our guard against the perils of archivial research. The difficulty of distilling truth from the mass of materials at our disposal must always be great. The theory of the incontrovertible achievements of research derives immediately from the school of objective historians of which Lord Acton was the most prominent. "They were sustained by an optimistic belief in the possibility of attaining.... to ultimate historical truth." Acton was fascinated by Ranke, whose critical writings appeared to that generation to be "the last word and a model for the future" But Ranke "tended to keep historiography on narrow political lines". In the last generation, attention has rather turned to its practical limitations. "The taste of historians has moved toward a more subjective history". But whatever may be our methods of historical observation, historical criticism, and historical analysis, we must not lose sight of the insistent warning suggested by the scientific temper of modern times, and vitiate the discipline of our mind by concepts, aims and practices alien to it. We may say with Herbert Spencer: "The things that we can be certain of are the only things worth knowing."

One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the steadily increasing interest in the study of Indian history. The stupendous output of research publications by my colleagues and fellow-research-workers are indeed worthy of note. The publication of Annual Bulletins of such works and the institution of Research Institutes will add fresh force to the general desire among Indian scholars for original investigation. Historical study from the beginning may become a sort of research. The writing of these is normally confined to the post-graduate students in the Universities, who usually attempt a higher doctorate degree for dissertation embodying an original contribution to research. These "original theses" are compiled

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in a very short time and are inevitably immature. Some insight into the raw materials of history and the process of historical analysis should be given to all honours students before they get their degrees.

A very great deal still remains to be done. Through all the records, despatches, letters etc. as well as through the laws that remained in force and those that have fallen into abeyance, "there emerge numerous facts which there is no intention of telling—facts concerning the social classes, social organization, social customs, arrangements, changes". The function of the historian is to speak to us of life's movements. He must bring before us and interpret to us the spirit of the age of which he speaks. His work is ever so much more important than the work of the annalist, the diarist or the chronicler. The sphere of history is as wide as the sphere of humanity itself. History is the study of human relationship, of human society and of human affairs through the ages, of the conditions of the millions of men and women who, in the past, have been the mainspring of the great movements in history, or who by their exertion, have shaped and cherished society, the state, and the nation, and yet have been condemned to a life of endless misery and have left no name lingering on the pages of history. All our efforts at research and investigation into the raw materials relating to the many-sided activities of the British in India will be futile unless we penetrate deep into the surface of society and speak of the inarticulate mass, who remained in "a quiet backwater", and build up a People's History of India from India's point of view. It appears that Sir William Hunter originally intended to write a History of India on a similar basis. But this idea had to be given up due to the loss of materials and original documents collected by him through a period of a quarter of a century in the ill-fated "Nepal". In a similar way, Raffles lost his collections for the history of Sumatra and the eastern archipelago. Posterity shall have reason long to remember with the keenest regret such losses to the historical world.

I thank you once again, ladies and gentlemen for the patient and courteous hearing you have given me. In the customary tradition of Presidential Addresses, I have failed in my duty to provide you with a list of research contributions of eminent scholars or to indicate specific sources on certain phases relating to the period from 1765. My satisfaction will rest on your appreciation of my plea for a wider concept of history. It has to be admitted that the doctrine of "the cult of ancestors" has a fascinating hold on the mind and satisfies the people's pride in the past. A certain amount of bias inevitably flows in, in the course of the study and writing of national history. But the nationalist creed has so far proved intolerant, aggressive, and militant with fatal effects on the destinies of nations. It poisons the political atmosphere through national hatred,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

racial prejudices, and diplomatic intrigues. British liberalism in India, on the other hand, was inspired not so much by humanitarianism as by her trade interests, and English representatives of liberal Britain especially after 1860, remained a caste apart from the mass of the people of the country except for a small section of articulate intelligentsia. History tells us that people willingly give away liberty if peace and security is assured to them. Ideas however potentially powerful cannot bring on a revolution if masses are not animated by them, and the mass of the people in India felt that only a strong centralised government could assure to them the security they longed for. Too sensitive for their soul they were ready to sacrifice their liberty and bear the untold miseries of absolutism with patience. It is a charge on us, historians, to mobilise the sources at our disposal and to diffuse among the rising generation our collective experience of the lessons of history. If history is to be regarded as "the basis of modern education in the humanities and the best school of citizenship", and if its function is "to create a trained, disciplined, and discriminating mind", then a perfunctory inspection of materials with a biased outlook is a crime against the continuous flow of human civilization.

In conclusion, I cannot resist the temptation of reflecting on a few problems in the wide field of investigation at our disposal. Trade laid the foundation on which the structure of the empire was raised and to trade was linked the political security of India. It would be extremely interesting to determine from the Anglo-Dutch conflict for the control of the trade in spices, how food materials shaped the destinies of nations. The Peace of Paris in 1763 left the possibility of Bourbon intrigues and revenge against British interests in India resting its entire strength on the two strategically placed islands of Mauritius and Reunion. The struggle with the French, the conflict for political influence in the Middle East, and the final exclusion of the French from the East are stilll subjects for investigation. The foreign wars expanded the field of Anglo-Indian diplomacy beyond the limits of India. The influence of sea power on the history of India was too evident. The effective co-operation of the free-trading captains connected with Madras firms, to link the Bengal and China trade and counter-act Franco-Dutch ambitions found expression in the Light-Warren Hastings correspondence culminating in the acquisition of Penang. The same policy dictated Dalrymple's exploits in the Sulu Seas, Lt. Blair's surveys of the Andaman Islands at the dictates of the Earl of Hillsborough, and Lord Hastings' support of Raffles in securing Singapore to preserve England's commerce with the Far East. All these were too intimately related with Indian developments to allow us to take an isolated view. The historical student would naturally delight to contemplate a comprehensive picture of the British in India as a whole, and say with Morley, without prejudice to monographic exploration, "Posterity sees a whole."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Let us also recall the reflections of Lord Haldane on "The Meaning of Truth in History":

> "It seems today that the genuine historian must be more than a biographer or a recorder....The spirit of the age is generally greater and more lasting than the spirit of any individual."

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S LAW COURTS IN THE OPENING YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI

No major changes in judicial system were possible in the period of Lord Wellesley or in the years following his departure from India, for the attention of the government was devoted at this time to wars, conquests and political affairs. But, there were some developments which deserve the attention of historians.

The most significant item[1] was the preparation of a digest of Muslim law, according to the tenets of the Shariah. This work was placed in the able hands of Mr. Baillie who arranged for the compilation, translation and publication thereof.

It was also decided[2] to prepare an authentic text of the Quran with an index and a glossary. Mr. Baillie[3] was directed to translate such portions of the Fatwa Alamgiri as related to the criminal branch of the Muslim law. The ultimate object was to compile a Muslim code of law both for the Sunnis and the Shiyas.

The next change was an increase of salaries[4] of the Commissioners of the Court of Requests from 800 to 1200 Rupees per month. Their onerous work entitled[5] them to this increase. The salary of the clerk of the Court was raised from 400 to 650 Rupees per month. An extra Commissioner[6] was appointed to cope with the increased work. He too was allowed a salary of 1200 Rupees.

For the trial of very minor suits it was decided to appoint Maulavis and Pandits of the Zillah and City Courts to be head Commissioners. This change went materially to reduce the arrears of petty suits.[7]

1. Judicial Civil records, October 20, 1803.
2. Report from S. T. Goad, Registrar, October 20, 1803.
3. Originally an army officer, Mr. Baillie was a scholar of Arabic.
4. Judicial Department, December 15,1804.
5. .....do....., March 1, 1805.
6. The new Commissioner was Mr. J. Brice.
7. Judicial Department, October 17, 1805.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

To remove the inconvenience caused by the lack of buildings for law courts, steps were taken to rent or purchese a number of buildings at a number of places:[1]—

Shahabad	—	Zillah court
Sylhet	—	do
Etawah	—	do
Calcutta	—	Court
Purnea	—	Collector's Cutcherry
Aligarh	—	do
Tipperah	—	do
24 Parganas	—	do

In pursuance of the principles established for the internal government of the territories dependent on Fort William, it was decided to separate the Judicial and Revenue authorities in Cuttack. It was agreed that one judge and magistrate and one collector would be sufficient in that province[2].

Certain changes were made in the Courts of Sudder Diwani and Nizamat Adalats for the more expeditious and effectual administration of justice. It was found that the various important duties of the members of the Supreme Government made it impracticable for any member to discharge the extensive duties of the Sudder Diwani and Nizamat Adalat Chief Judges. In consequence of this, the duties of the Sudder Diwani and Nizamat Adalats had hitherto been performed by only two members —the want of a third member in the practical discharge of the duties of the Court being liable to more than one objection. In consequence of the important nature of the duties, it was considered desirable that the causes and trials should be considered by three members. Should any difference of opinion arise when only two members attended, the Decree or Sentence was to be suspended as prescribed by Regulation 2 of 1801 for the voice of the third judge of the Court[3]. This, however, might cause delay and interruption, so long as a member of the Supreme Council continued to act in both capacities. Besides, it was in principle bad that a member of the executive branch of the Government should act as Chief Judge of the Adalats. In 1801 an attempt was made to separate the judicial from the legislative and executive authorities of the state.

On a consideration of these circumstances, it appeared to the Government to be essential, for the purpose of giving full effect to the provisions made by the constitution established for the internal government, and for ensuring to the people the enjoyment of the blessing of just laws duly administered, that the separation of the judicial authority in all their respective

1. Civil Cons. July 18, August 29, etc. 1805. Judicial Proceedings June 6, etc.
2. With the exception of certain parganas which were added to Midnapore.
3. Letter to Court, July 31, 1801.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

branches and gradations should be carried into full and complete execution both in form and practice. This decision was highly significant.[1]

In accordance with the decision, the following appointments were made :—

Mr. H. J. Colebrooke — Chief Judge
Mr. J. H. Harrington — Puisne Judge

The following salaries were fixed :—

Chief Judge Rs. 60,000 per annum
Puisne Judge Rs. 55,000 per annum

To ensure economy in the expenditure on Court houses and Cutcherries a plan was adopted in 1799 with a view mainly to reduce the present expenses. This plan of economy[2] led to some saving.[3] The plan involved erection or purchase of suitable buildings for about Rs. 12000 for each Court house, and Rs. 8000 for each Cutcherry.[4]

Further economy was possible through the abolition of Assistant Judges at some stations.

In 1800 the office of Judge and Magistrate of 24 Parganas was abolished. In consequence of the heavy arrears of cases in the district of Burdwan, an Assistant Judge was added to that station as a special case.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1. Civil Cons. July 25, 1805.
2. Civil Cons. June 6, 1805
3. Rs. 28,812
4. Civil Cons. 1803

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PRESS TO DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL IDEAS AND DISSATISFACTION AGAINST THE BRITISH RULE ESPECIALLY IN CENTRAL INDIA—MALWA DURING THE REVOLT OF 1857

Dr. K. L. Srivastava

The first[1] press in India was started at Calcutta in the year 1780 when the first journal "Bengal Gazette" appeared under the able editorship of J. A. Hicky, who later on was deported, as he tried to brave the might of his own despotic government. This was followed by the first journal in Indian languages named "Samachar Darpan" in the year 1818. Subsequently a number of other journals like the "Indian Gazette", the "Bengal Harkaru", the "Asiatic Mirror", "The Morning Post", "The Indian World" etc. began to appear. From their very inception these organs of the public mind were looked upon with suspicion by the English East Indian Company and its attitude towards these was "frankly hostile". During the period 1780—1835 the newspaper editors and their associates suffered a great deal and sacrificed much at the altar of liberty of speech and the freedom of the Press.[2] They aimed at extending the bonds of human freedom. At last their noble efforts were crowned with success, when Sir Charles Metcalfe,[3] during his temporary Governor-Generalship, passed an Act in 1835 giving full freedom to the press. For this he has been truly called, "the liberator of the Indian Press". Metcalfe, rightly held the view that, "a free press is a blessing to any country." The Indian fully profited by the liberty of the Press from 1835 to 1857. They used the Press and the Platform to win their just political rights and privileges, oppose the foreign missionary activities, refute the criticism of the English Press on Indian social and religious practices, and prepare and organise public opinion in favour of the country's independence which culminated in the Revolt[4] of 1857. It appears from the Dispatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company that they scented a grave danger at the enactment of the Press Act granting freedom to the Press. They characterized it as being opposed to all previous orders and as such, uncalled for innovation. They were of the opinion that the original procedure of granting licence was better calculated to keep a check upon the misuse of the Press.

1. The Calcutta Review. May 1954, p. 27.

2. Ibid. pp. 26-43.

3. A Comprehensive History of India Civil, Military and Social, By. Henry Beveridge. Vol. III. p. 252.

4. "Report of the Newspapers in Central India" (unpublished).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Act threw all responsibility upon the Government for it was now its business to prosecute anyone committing a breach of the Act. The Court of Directors, however, did not veto the Act and it remained in force up to the Revolt of 1857 when its full consequences were realised by all. The Indian Press from 1835 to 1857 had brought about a great intellectual revolution and had prepared the way for the Indian Revolt. Sir Charles Metcalfe, as early as 1835, wrote, "The real danger of a free press in India is, I think, in its enabling the native to throw off our yoke.[1]

Public opinion was much influenced by the newspapers like "Asiatic Mirror", "Bengal Journal", "Samachar Darpan", "Calcutta Review", "Friend of India" (modern "Statesman)", "Durbin",[2] "Times of India", "Samachar Sudarshan", "Englishman" (which ceased publication in 1931) etc. Among these we find a group of missionary papers, a group of papers edited by Hindu and Muslim editors. These groups held widely different views. The English Press was often free in its criticism of the governmental acts. Especially the Press controlled by the British Party in opposition was very critical and frank. The papers published in the Indian languages joined hands in exposing the faults of the Company's administration and made much of the high-handedness of the Company's officials. They took the lead in exposing the designs of the foreigners and reminded their countrymen of their duty towards the motherland.[3]

Prior to the Revolt of 1857 in Central India-Malwa, Indore and Gwalior were the two most important centers which had newspapers of their own. In Indore, a newspaper was published under the title of "Perfect Moonshine". Its last[4] issue published the events of the 1st of July 1857, (the day of the outbreak of the Revolt at Indore). "The Malwa Akhbar" was an official paper, and "The Perfect Moonshine" was a semi-official paper set up with the intention of opposing the views of "The Malwa Akhbar". Gwalior had its own paper named "The Gwalior Akhbar", but most of the news concerning Gwalior State was published in another paper named "The Mofussillite". Both these papers[5] survived the Revolt of 1857.

The following newspapers were some of the most popular ones and helped a great deal in shaping the public opinion in Central India:—

"The Sialkot Akhbar"

"The Noor Mashriqi"

1. Dispatch of the Court of Directors, dated 1-2-1836.
2. "The Press in India" 1780-1908 an article in the Nineteenth Century and After. By S. M. Mitra., Vol. XLIV. No. 378., August 1908.
3. Ibid.
4. Royal Asiatic Society. "Pamphlets on India" Letter No. 3. (Bombay Branch)
5. Colonel Durand's letter dated 29th Sept., 1857.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

"The Persian Akhbar"
"The Delhi Akhbar" and
"The Ahsan-ul-Akhbar" of Bombay.

As these papers were preaching nationalism and were particularly opposed to the foreign yoke, the Company's[1] officials often frowned upon them. Here is an example. Colonel Durand sneeringly speaking about these newspapers wrote that they "were able to excite the race antipathies of the masses, and fanned their hatred by appeals to every prejudice and passion which could intensify disgust at a foreign race and rule."[2]

The Indian Newspapers had a great influence on the middle class and the masses. According to Colonel Durand they had great influence on "the intellegentsia with national aspirations."[3] Many of the Indian States Rulers subscribed to the British Newspapers. These papers sometimes contained articles deprecating oriental despotism, the right of adoption, the organization of the States' forces, which caused much uneasiness in the minds of the rulers. These articles often found a place in the Indian Newspapers which published their translations in their issues and agitated public mind by criticising the rulers freely. The British officers found it difficult to deal legally[4] with them.

The "Hawking Publications" also played not an insignificant part in bringing about the Revolt. For a paltry sum of half an anna they provided the public with varied charms such as half a dozen extracts from the religious books, exciting account of the campaigns in Sind, the Punjab, Afghanistan etc., a considerable quantity of writings on theology, forms of prayer, rules of ceremonial practices, etc. They contained passages inculcating patriotism, exciting racial bitterness and appealing to the religious sentiments. These pamphlets attracted the public not only on account of their cheapness, the wealth and variety of news supplied by them, but because they were in tune with the public mind and reflected the spirit of the times.[5]

At the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857 when the English East India Company became alive to the far reaching effects of a free press, it repealed the Act in June 1857 and put several restrictions upon the publicity of news. This produced much bitterness and proved a breeding ground for baseless

1. Ibid.
2. Major W. H. Rickard's letter dated 5th Nov. 1857.
3. 'Minute' dated 26th January 1866 by H. M. Durand., Secretary to Government of India in Foreign Deptt.
4. Reply (to Govt. of India's Circular letter dated 28th Aug. 1857.) in Col H. M. Durand's letter, dated 29th Sept., 1857.
5. Ibid.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

rumours which shook public confidences and engendered mistrust. The gagging of the Press recoiled on the Company's Government. It created bitterness because it attacked the fundamental rights of the people. The press was aware of the drawbacks of the administration such as red-tapism, delaying tactics and lack of foresight. By its healthy criticism it did give helpful warning to the Company. With the disappearance of the free press, there was no effective medium which could have been employed by the Government to counteract the rumours, and consequently the people were left free to imagine or say anything against the Company. The people thought the Company was bent upon suppressing truth and therefore they attributed evil motives to whatever the Company did.

Besides newspapers, there were several other means of transmitting news. Much of the local and foreign news was spread to the farthest corners of the country by the bands of wandering "Sadhus" and "Fakirs". Often the newsletters were enclosed with the "Hundis" (Bills of exchange) received by many business firms. The "Hulkaras" (foot-messengers) and "Sandni Sawars" (camel-messengers), village Chowkidars (watchmen) and "pandas" (priests) carrying waters of the holy Ganges were as it were so many itinerant newspapers. The private letters carried by bulllock cart drivers and the "banjaras" (travelling businessmen) were also a much utilised source of information in an age which till then had not witnessed an effective postal system.

All these agencies, in themselves harmless, were utilised by the rebels for the dissemination of ideas against the foreign race and rule.

It is true that political and economic causes lay at the root of the Revolt of 1857. But we should not ignore at the same time the fact that the Press did play an important part in making the people alive to their rights and ventilating their grievances, and thus preparing an intellectual background for the Revolt of 1857.[1]

1. From "Madras Athenaeum" as quoted in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch. "Pamphlets on India" letter No. 3.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INDO-PORTUGUESE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS DURING THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

DR. HARI RANJAN GHOSAL

Portuguese commercial relations with India during the early nineteenth century forms an interesting but inadequately known chapter in the history of modern times. While there is no doubt that in the seventeenth century the Portuguese had practically ceased to be of any importance as a trading and political power in the East, as compared with the Dutch and the English, Portuguese commercial connections with our country were not altogether discontinued. Apart from the fact that they retained some footholds on the western coast of India, such as Goa, Daman and Diu, which continued to be centres of their political and commercial activities in the East, a considerable Portuguese population lay scattered in different parts of this country throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Frequent references to Portuguese inhabitants are to be found, for examples, in the district archives of Patna and Muzaffarpur. A representation to the Governor-General in Council, of 8 December, 1821, on the subject of the Roman Catholic Church of Patna was signed by twenty-one Portuguese inhabitants[1]. And a letter from the Vicar of the church contains a list of 116 Roman Catholic inhabitants of Patna, mostly Portuguese, who were settled there as traders, indigo planters, writers, under-writers and pensioners.[2] In the Collectorate records of Muzaffarpur of the early nineteenth century there are references to some Portuguese indigo planters. In the interior of Bengal, as well as in the city of Calcutta, the number of Portuguese settlers was not quite negligible.[3]

And of course there were many Portuguese inhabitants in different parts of the Bombay Presidency.

The Portuguese trade with India, which had nearly continually been dwindling for close on two hundred years, experienced for obvious reasons a certain revival towards the end of the eighteenth century. With the outbreak of war between England and France in 1793, French factories in this country were captured, and thereafter until 1815 the *bona fide* French trade with India, which had been improving after 1783, was at a standstill, except during the interval of peace in 1802-3. Then, in 1795, the Dutch factories too came in the possession of the English company. The

1. Patna Judge Court Records.
2. *Ibid.* See also Ind. Hist. Quarterly, Sept., 1935.
3. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey*, Vol. 1, p. 46, Beveridge, *The District of Bakerganj*, pp. 106-8.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

result was that during the greater part of the period of Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, neutral nations, such as the Danes, the Portuguese and the Americans had a legal monopoly of the Indo-European commerce. Moreover, in 1797 the British Parliament passed an Act. which laid down that vessels belonging to countries in amity with Great Britain should be allowed, under certain restrictions, to import into, and export from, the British territories in India any goods permitted by the Company's Court of Directors in England.[1] The Act undoubtedly gave an encouragement to the trade of neutral nations.

During the Napoleonic wars upto 1806-7 at any rate, Portugal had a more regular trade with India than any other European country, except the United Kingdom. Apart from the facilities afforded to the trade of neutral nations in India during the war, which proved particularly advantageous to Portuguese traders, the measure adopted by the king of Portugal of making Lisbon a free port for Indian goods imported for re-export (when an import duty of one per cent only was levied) gave a further impetus to the trade.[2] It may be worthy of note in this connection that during the five years ending 1806, exports to Portugal from the Bengal Presidency alone exceeded a crore of rupees in value, while the value of Portuguese imports to the Bengal Presidency during the same period was not much less than one crore.[3] The total value of exports from the Bengal Presidency to Denmark during these years, it may be noted was only 25,50,000 *sicca* rupees, and that of Danish imports to the Bengal Presidency slightly above 31,00,000 *sicca* rupees.[4] Bengal exports to Portugal during this period included mainly piece-goods, indigo and grain, while the imports were chiefly bullion, wines and Goa paper.[5]

British attitude towards the Indo-Portuguese trade was quite favourable, the more so because Portugal had been a member of the second Great Coalition against France. But with the renewal of the war after the Peace of Amiens the situation seemed to take a different turn. mmediately about this time Napolean began to formulate his plan of compelling Spain to declare war against England. And there was a wide-spread rumour that England would soon be involved in a war with Spain and Portugal both. In fact to ruin British trade with Portugal was already an important item in his programme at the beginning of 1804. Early in that year the Secretary to the Calcutta Insurance Company wrote to Government; "The reports in circulation respecting the great probabi-

1. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce* Vol. II, p. 133.
2. Bengal Board of Trade (Customs) Cons., 4 August, 1797.
3. Milburn, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 130.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

lity of a War betwixt Great Britain and Portugal are so alarming that I have been directed by the Committee of the Calcutta Insurance Company .....to request the favour of being informed.....whether Government has received such accounts as renders it probable that war with Portugal will actually take place. The valuable cargoes of opium and cotton (not less than 35 lacs of rupees) which the Portuguese ships now in the river are about proceeding with to Macao are insured in the different insurance offices in Calcutta and at Madras and Bombay, so that in the event of hostilities taking place, the loss would fall altogether on British subjects....."[1] Fortunately the rumour of war did not came true, and British relations with Portugal continued to be cordial as before. In 1807, however, the Napoleonic army invaded Portugal on the latter's refusal to declare war against England, and in no time the country was annexed to the Napoleonic Empire.

The attitude of the British Government in India towards Portuguese subjects was genrally favourable; and in the records there are instances showing that special favour was often shown to Portuguese traders as far as possible. During the period of war the export of saltpetre by foreigners or to foreign countries was forbidden, except where specially permitted by the Government. Special permission was sometimes given to Portuguese subjects to send saltpetre to China subject to the condition that the article would be disposed of to Chinese subjects only. In 1806 Jannaro D'Almeida, a Portuguese merchant of Macao, applied to the Governor-General in Council for being permitted to export 10,000 maunds of salpetre from Calcutta, 2000 maunds to China, and the remainder to the the port of Lisbon. The Governor-General in Council was pleased, "as a special indulgence," to grant his request subject to his furnishing proper security that the article should be "disposed of in China or to Chinese subjects" only.[2]

While the British-Indian Government maintained a friendly attitude towards the Portuguese, something like an Anglo-Portuguese commercial rivalry appeared regarding opium exports to China at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The East India Company had a monopoly of Bihar and Benares opium since the middle of the eighteenth century. But its export to China was left to individuals, because legally it could not be imported into that country. The Company's revenue from opium swelled from year to year owing to the increasing demand for opium at the Chinese market. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, large quantities of Malwa opium began to be exported to the Chinese

1. Home Dept. Pub. Cons., 15 March, 1804, No 54 ((National Archives of India).

2. Letter from Secretary, Pol. & Foroign Dept. to Board of Trade, 13 Feb. 1806 (Bengal Board of Trade-Commercial Cons., 25 Feb., 1806)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

market from the Portuguese ports on the western coast of India. In 1805 the Company's Supercargoes at Canton wrote that the importation of Malwa opium by the Portuguese was steadily increasing which could not but "prove highly injurious to the interests of the Hon'ble Company."[1]

The Anglo-Portuguese commercial rivalry became somewhat more intense from 1807, when Portugal passed under Napoleonic tutelage. Fortunately peace was established between England and Portugal in 1810. On 19 February of that year a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was concluded between the two countries. And the second article of the treaty granted in favour of the subjects of both nations "liberty to trade, navigate, reside, and settle in any of the possessions of the two High Contracting Parties."[2] But "those dominions whence foreigners of every description are excluded" were exempted from the operation of this clause. The Portuguese Government at Macao thus objected to the trade and residence of British merchants at that port; and they went to the length of refusing to recognise the official character and public authority of the English Company's Supercargoes at Canton.[3] Indeed the question of the residence of British merchants at Macao long remained a point of dispute between the representatives of the two nations in China.

Meanwhile the cessation of hostilities in 1814-15 gave a new impetus to the Indo-Portuguese trade. Moreover, the effect of the Charter Act of 1813, which fully abolished the East India Company's monopoly of the Indian trade, was to favour enterprise of every kind. And "speculation was pushed beyond the limits of prudence."[4] Thus the Indo-Portuguese trade showed a spectacular increase for some years, and it is striking that exports to Portugal from the Bengal Presidency alone rose to seventy-two lacs of rupees in value in 1816-17.[5] But Indian cotton piece-goods, which formed the principal export to Europe, were soon afterwards ousted from foreign markets by British machine-made fabrics. So severe was the effect of this competition that exports to Portugal from the Bengal Presidency fell to one lac of rupees in value in 1827-28.[6] After 1827-28 the trade became wholly insignificant; and the total value of Portuguese imports to Bengal in 1829-30 and the following year was only 58,000 *sicca* rupees.[7] During these two years there were no exports to Portugal from

1. Home Department Pub. Cons.. 2 Jan. 1806, No. 16
2. Home Dept. Pub. Cons., 11 May, 1830, No. 11
3. *Ibid.*
4. H. H. Wilson, *A Review of the External Commerce of Bengal*, p. 53.
5. *Ibid*, p. 93.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Paper relating to the trade with India and China and the Finances of India (*Parl. Papers-House of Commons*-Vol. XXV)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Calcutta, the demand for Bengal cotton goods in the Portuguese market having been entirely superseded by British fabrics.

The problem of counteracting the competition of Malwa opium formed a pressing question for the Company's Government after the War, as before. The Company's policy was at first directed to the entire suppression of the traffic in Malwa opium by the Portuguese. But that was not practicable. However, the acquisition of vast territories by the English as a result of Maratha defeats during the last Anglo-Maratha war proved somewhat favourable to their plan of dealing with the problem. In a Minute of 11 January, 1819, Mr. Larkins observed that "the preponderating influence which our recent acquisitions give us over the poppy cultivation on the western side of India will place it in our power to prevent opium from being exported to China and other Eastern ports to the extent to which those markets have heretofore been supplied with this description of opium thro' the foreign ports on the Malabar coast."[1] At the same time he pointed out that "the political relations subsisting between the Portuguese and the British Governments will not permit us to have that control over the trade which is indispensably necessary to effect its entire suppression."[2] The Portuguese authorities at Diu were particularly "sedulous in their endeavour to discover new channels thro' which this article may find its way."[3] "This and the reluctance which the Guicowar Government has shown", Mr. Larkins further observed," to cooperate with the British Government in giving effect to the provisions of the regulation which was established in Guzerat with the view of checking the transit of opium, the manufacture of Malwa, for export to China and at the same time upholding the monopoly on this side of India lead me to apprehend that the measures adopted and in progress for frustrating the active efforts made by the Portuguese to participate in the opium trade to China, can only be partially successful."[4]

In these circumstances the Company at last decided to establish an agency in Malwa for the purpose of annually purchasing on their account as large a quantity of the article as possible A resolution of the Governor-General in Council of 19 September, 1822, laid down that eight to ten thousand maunds of Malwa opium should be annually purchased and sold publicly for export.[5] Steps were also taken to prevent illicit transport of opium through the western ports. Circular instructions were issued to the Collectors of Gujarat, Konkan and the Deccan and to the Political

1. Beng. Board of Customs, Salt and Opium (Opium). Cons., 27 April, 1819.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Foreign Dept. Pol. Cons. 4 Oct, 1822, No. 87 (National Archives of India)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

agents in Kathiawar "enjoining vigilance in preventing the illicit trade in opium."[1] By a resolution of 27 February, 1823, the charge of the Malwa Opium Agency was vested in an Officer of the Bengal Presidency.[2] Moreover, the Company's allies in Malwa and Rajputana were prevailed upon to cooperate in the matter of preventing the transit of opium through their territories.[3]

With all their efforts, however, the Company's Government were not fully successful in checking the Portuguese trade in opium. Apart from the fact that complete cooperation could not be expected from the several chiefs of Malwa, Rajputana and Gujarat, there was the difficulty that the running of a new agency involved enormous expenses, which nearly doubled the production cost of the article.[4] Thus it is not to be wondered at that in 1830 not less than 8,900 chests of Malwa opium found its way to China in ships under Portuguese colours; while the quantity of Malwa opium exported by the Company in that year did not exceed 3,500 chests. In fact the Portuguese remained a formidable rival of the East India Company in this field despite all measures taken to counteract it.[5]

SADIQ-UL-AKHBAR OF DEHLI

SHRI K. SAJUNLAL

The papers which did so much for the Freedom Struggle figured in the trial of Bahadur Shah were the Delhi Urdu Akhbar, the Sadiq-ul-Akhbar and Siraj-ul-Akhabar (which appears as Suraj-ul-Akhbar in Garrette).[6] Extracts from these were cited against Bahadur Shah. It is but patent that many extracts from them were translated into English. Translation in some cases according to few scholars appear to be twisted to suit the purpose of the British.[7]

In the course of the long trial of Bahadur Shah, Chuni, a news-writer,[8]

1. Foreign. Pol. Cons., 18 Oct., 1822, No 25; 25 October, 1822, No. 17.
2. Beng. Board of Customs, Salt and Opium (Opium) Cons, 18 April 1823.
3. Foreign Pol. Cons., 4 Oct., No. 87
4. Statements of Revenues and charges, etc.—paper No. 1 (A) *Parl. Papers* (*House of Commons*) Vol. XXV. III.
5. *Minutes of Evidence before select Committee* (1832), Vol. III, p. 253
6. It was a Persian Weekly or the Court Gazette of Bahadur Shah. It started its publication 1841 under the editorship of Sayyid Aulad Ali.
7. Khaja Hasan Nizami p. 4 and see also, Yusuf Ali, Cultural History or India, p. 190.
8. Chuni, full name Chunilal—a news writer who examined by the judge-Advocate, Vide, Garrett, the Trial of Bahadur Shah, and Kaye, History of the Sepoy war, Vol I, P, 634, and Annals of the Indian Rebellion Part, II, June, 1859, PP 150-164.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Mukandlal, the personal Secretary of Bahadur Shah, Ahsanullah Khan, the Physician of the Emperor, were called upon to testify the papers.

Ahsan-ullah Khan called the Delhi Urdu Akhbar as Maulvi Md. Baqir's paper.[1] Sadiq-ul-Akhbar was frequently cited in evidence against Bahadur Shah. A few extracts from the lengthy cross-examination are given below to show how much was popular Sadiq-ul-Akhbar, or notorious in the eyes of the Government.

Advocate :—Were there any native news papers circulated in Delhi whose general tone and tenor were adverse to the British?

Chuni :—There was one such paper a weekly published by Jamaluddin the articles of which evinced decided enmity against the Government,[2] and it was called the Sadiq-ul-Akhbar, or the Authentic news.

Advocate :—Had this paper a great circulation and when was it a printed one?

Chuni :—It had a great circulation of 200 copies, in and out of the city of Delhi and was lithographed.

Advocate :—Did the paper confined itself to its weekly publication, or, did it sometime issue extras on particular news arriving?

Chuni :—Yes, on occasions of important intelligence, extras were issued[3]

Advocate :—Among whom, or what class of men had this paper its chief circulation?[4]

Chuni :—It had an equal circulation among all classes capable of reading without distinction of caste.

Another question was asked whether Sadiq-ul-Akhbar was the leading Journal and what was its circulation when compared to the circulation of other papers. Whether a copy of the Sadiq-ul-Akhbar was sent to the palace of the Emperor. In answer to these questions, Chuni replied that it was the leading paper, and in support of his answer he gave reasons, and said that several copies of this and other news-papers were sent to the palace and he could not say by whom.[5]

Though in cross-examination a number of questions were asked about the Persian and Russian attack on India, for the present, we would not touch them.

1. In the course of our narrative we shall discuss how the mis-spelling of the Editor's name caused confusion.

2. Vide, for details, K. Sajunlal's paper, "The Delhi Urdu Akhabar and its importance. Isl. Culture, Jan, 1950, pp. 16-45.

3. It was a common feature and in K. Sajunlal's collection, one could see these supplements.

4. Garrett, Ibid, p. 141.

5. Ibid P 143. It is to be noted that Bahadur Shah used to send weekly issues of Siraj-ul-Akhbar as early as 1841 to the Lt. Governor Agra through Sir Theophles Metcalfe, whom he gave the title of Newab Muazam-ud-daulah.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In the words of Chuni, the Sadiq-ul-Akhbar's tone and style were hostile and bitter against the English,[1]

We may say that not only Sadiq-ul-Akhbar, alone was bitter in its attacks, but the Delhi Urdu Akhbar, too, did not lag behind its contemporary in denouncing the British.[2]

Again Sadiq-ul-Akhbar was brought in as an important evidence in the 13th proceeding. This time, Hakim Ahsan-ullah Khan was asked a series of questions, such as whether Sadiq-ul-Akhbar was read by the Emperor. He replied that the Emperor was not a regular reader of newspapers but occasionally, some of the princes might have passed on a summary of the news.

This question was again repeated when Mukandlal was cross-examined, whether the Emperor read this particular paper? Mukandlal replied that he was not sure whether the Emperor read it regularly, but added "that the newspaper and others used to come to him."[3]

So we see that Sadiq-ul-Akhbar was a very popular newspaper and yet it was notorious for its activities in the eyes of the British.

We shall now examine this paper very closely. Was there one Sadiq-ul-Akhbar, or more of its name?

Sadiq-ul-Akhbar's name seems to be very common, or as we have said earlier very popular so much so we find a number of Urdu and Persian newspapeers adopted this name. Scholars have not, we feel, for the paucity of material, done justice to it. There was one Sadiq-ul-Akhbar in Persian published in Delhi in 1844. It was a weekly of 2 sheets, priced Rs. 2/- a year, and was published by Imdad Husain. Kaifi Sahib has done enough justice to it. Imdad Husain is mentioned as its editor in the register of the news list maintained by Government in 1847.

There was another Sadiq-ul-Akhbar in Persian and was published in 1845, by one named Jamaluddin who changed the paper into an Urdu one. It was at this time the editor of Ahsan-ul-Akhbar of Bombay (Persian) commented upon its switching on to Urdu. He said that he could not understand as to why Sadiq-ul-Akhbar changed to Urdu. Perhaps, he adds that the subscribers must have insisted about the change of language.[4]

A third of the same name whose advertisement appears in Akhbar-ul-Haqaiq was published on Thursdays by Md. Hussain Khan in the Mus-

1. Ibid, p. 142.
2. Vide, K. Sajunlal's paper "Delhi Urdu Akhbars and the Freedom Struggle", Hyd. Academy, pp. 25-45.
3. Vide, Ahsan-ul-Akhber of Bombay, dated 22nd Oct, 1847. (A Number of this paper are in my private collection).
4. Vide Akhbar-ul-Haqaip 1853. For its description and details vide, K. Sajunlal's paper. The Haqaiq, I.H.R.C, Vol XXII, pp. 68-69.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tafai Press, near Kashmir gate, androon Mohalla Jaft Dauran, Havelli-Kallan, Shahjehanabad, (Delhi). It was a four page issue with a Re as its monthly subscription.[1] Perhaps Md. Husain Khan was replaced by Nuruddin, as the editor of Sadiq-ul-Akhbar, because another advertisement, the final one, appears under the name of Nuruddin as its editor, which announces the date of the publication as 30th June 1853.[2] And in course of time by 1857, instead of Nuruddin, we find Jameeluddin Khan as its editor. It was a Urdu Weekly published on Mondays and had four page issues. It was published in the Jameel-ul-Mathabai of Sadiq-ul-Akhbar, Mohalla Choureewalla, Delhi[3]

Its subscription was Re a month, Rs 5 for six months and Rs. 8 per year. Articles of public interest were published free of charge and advertisement charges were annas 2 per line. Writers and correspondents were requested to give their names and address legibly.

This paper had a good circulation of 250-300 copies and was read by all people irrespective of caste, colour or creed.

Due to mis-spelling in the name of the editor, it has caused confusion. It is Jameeluddin Khan and not Jamaluddin, although Hasan Nizami and Garette call him Jamaluddin.

It was this paper that figured so very often in the trial of Bahadur Shah as stated earlier by us. To call it a secret newspaper of Bahadur Shah would be incorect. (a)

Many extracts of this paper have been used in evidence are given by Garrett. Khaja Hasan Nizami, has given a few of them. Kaifi Sahib in his paper has given as a sample of style and news-reporting a few of these extracts of the valuable paper. It is by coincidence that of these, two appear in evidence and are included in Garrett (3), Extracts from Delhi Urdu Akhbar also appear.[4]

It is our fervent appeal that scholars working on such an important period should make a sincere attempt not only to peruse the extracts, but the whole issue of the Akhbar where from these extracts are taken. They

1. Vide, Delhi Urdu Akhbar
2. Note:—

   This paper is also associated with the name of Md. Sadiq, who seems to have been on its staff. From 24 Jan, 1857, its issues bear these words. It was not a secret news-paper as is alleged by one writer.

   (a) Sabri, calls it as such. Vide, Sabri. The Urdu Press, p. 296.

3. Kaifi Sahib, Urdu, April 1935, PP 211-212. Vide, Garrett Opp. cit, pp. 209-210. This very issue is dated 17/8/57 to which we shall again refer.
4. Garrett, Op. cit, p. 219.

   Note :—This whole issue is with writer. It is dated 13th Sept, 1857.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

should also try to see how far the translations are correct. We have compared two extracts and found them faithfully translated.[1]

This paper gives day-to-day and week to week account of the Freedom Struggle.

For the interest of our readers we shall describe one of the issues of this valuable as well as controversial news-paper. We take up its No. 7, issue of Vol 4, dated 17th August, 1857.

On the title page, the name of the news-paper and year appear as "Sediq-ul-Akhbar, Dehli-1273 A. H." Of course the name of the paper is in bold type. Just below the title, issue No. 7, is given with date 26th Zeehaj 1273, equivalent to 13th Bhadun Badi Parwa Samant 1914. After it the volume No. 4 is given.

Underneath the date, appears the advertisement of the paper, its rate of subscription for a month, 6 months and year, with a notice that articles of public interest were to be published free of charge, and only advertisement were to be charged at annas 2 per line. Writers and subscribers were requested to write their name and address legibly. Below it is the acknowledgement of receipt of subscription annas 12 from Janab Nawab Barnada, Chethli Qabar.

Then starts under the heading 'Falnama', with a note of instruction and Key to the poem with which closes the title page.

The following are the interesting items of news-report published by the paper :—

(1) London News. (2) Aden (3) Hyderabad (4) Nagpur (5) Gwalior (6) Agra (7) Mallargadh (8) Sahranpur

(9) Adabai-Shahi (Royal etiquette), but the article deals with forms of Government such as Monarchy, Oligarchy, Police Government (Dictatorship) and Democracy. (10) Alipur (11) Qilla Mualla (12) Delhi news. The last two items have been utilised by us elsewhere.[2]

At the close of the last page of its issue we find that it was published by Jameeluddin Khan in the Jameel-ul-Matabai, Delhi, by the orders of the Emperor.

These words appear from its issue dated 24th Jan, 1857 onwards. So much so we find them in the issue just discussed, viz, 17th August 1857. It is not Jamauddin as said by one writer but Jameeluddin.[3]

1. Vide, K. Sajunlal, "Delhi Urdu Akhbars and The Freedom Struggle", Hyderabad Academy, No. 14, pp 25-45.
   It should be noted that Abdur Razak has given the date of the proceeding as 6th Feb., 1858, which is not correct. should be 9th Feb,
   Secondly, he has again fallen into error, calling the news-writer Kishen Singh, where as he was Chunilal.
2. Vide. Abdur Razek, Urdn, oct., 1935, p. 707.
3. K. Sajunfal, Delhi Urdu Akhbars and the Freedom Struggle, Hyd. Academy No. 14, PP 24-45. 2) Sabri, Urdu Press, p. 296.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SOME RECORDS ON THE EARLY BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE TRIBUTARY MAHALS IN ORISSA

SHRI P. MUKHERJEE

In May 1803, Raghuji Bhonsla formed an alliance with Daulat Rao Sindhia to subvert the treaty of Bassein which degraded the status of the Peshwa, Baji Rao II, the head of the Maratha confederacy. Lord Wellesley was not averse to a trial of strength, as he wanted to wrest from Raghuji, the province of Cuttack or Orissa "so as to unite the northern circars by a continued line of sea-coast with Bengal".[1] The Orissa campaign during the Second Maratha War was short and swift. It started according to a pre-meditated plan in September 1803. The fort of Barabati at Cuttack fell on the 14th October. On the 19th October, Lt. Colonel Harcourt commanding the forces and John Melville were appointed Commissioners for settling the affairs of the province of Cuttack. The Commissioners entered into engagements with ten of the Garhjat chiefs within a few months, fixing in perpetuity their peshkush. The Raja of Nayagarh waited upon the Commissioners and represented that "under the Imperial and the Maratha governments no authority had been exercised upon him".[2] So long he paid the tribute. The Commissioners in their *Purwana* to the Raja, promised "liberal and kind treatments to the Rajas". The Rajas of Baudh and Duspalla held out, waiting for the result of the last resistance offered by the Marathas at the Barmula Pass in the territory of Duspalla. But they were routed by Major Forbes on the 2nd November 1803 and the Rajas hastened to tender their allegiance. No engagement was executed with Mayurbhanj, as the ruler Rani Sumitra Dei Bhunj claimed exemption from the tribute on the ground that the British government did not allow her to levy a tax on the pilgrims to Puri passing through the territory of Mayurbhanj.

The Commissioners treated all chiefs and landlords as Zamindars and in 1803-04 entered into engagements with 22 of them, including the Raja of Khurda. But "the rebellious tributary Gharjaut Rajah of Khoorda" was expelled in 1804, followed by "the annexation of that country".[3]

The Commissioners also tried to conclude treaty engagements with some more Oriya speaking Garhjat Mahals. 'Mounstuart' Elphinstone, the Resident at Nagpur, was informed "in conformity with the commands"

1. Lord Wellesley to Major Wellesley, 27th June, 1803
2. Arzee of the Raja of Nayagarh to the V. P. in Council, 23rd May, 1815.
3. From T. Fortesque, Secretary, to the Collector of Jugannath, 15th December, 1804.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the Governor General in respect of "estates not included in the province of Cuttack", that negotiations have been made with the Rajas of Sambalpur, Sonepur and Baudh "who have their independence guaranteed by the British government". They were offered "advantageous terms for the transfer of their allegiance" to the British government, namely, an annual tribute of five gold mohurs.[1] Only the Raja of Baudh interchanged agreements. Baudh was included in the Ranchi group of States till 1837. The treaty concluded by Sir George Barlow with the Raja of Berar put an end to further negotiations with the Rajas of Sambalpur and Sonepur.

In 1805, Bengal Laws and Regulations were introduced in the province of Cuttack. "The regulations promulgated for collecting the revenue, for preserving the peace and for administering the justice were not extended into those Estates now called the Tributary Mehals but then designed as certain jungle or hill zemindarees".[2] "It would appear that their exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil and criminal courts was founded on the motive of expediency alone".[3] The Commissioners were anxious that "every degree of indulgence and favour" should be shown to the Garhjat Rajas.[4]

In 1811, the Rani of Mayurbhunj, Sumitra Dei, died and the succession devolved upon Tribikrum Bhanj, an adopted son. He agreed to forego claims to the pilgrim tax and executed an agreement in 1812. Lord Hastings who gathered up the threads of Wellesley's administration, wanted to give a definite shape to the policy towards the Garhjat Rajas. He ordered for the appointment of the Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack as the Superintendent of the Tributary Estates. The Superintendent would consider and report "whether the subsisting arrangements for the management of the Estates in question are the best which can be devised. Whether some of them at least may not be placed under the ordinary jurisdiction of the civil and criminal courts".[5] G. Oswald was appointed by the Governor General as the Judge and Magistrate, Cuttack, and the Superintendent of the Tributary Estates. The letter of appointment, which was forwarded by the Secretary of the Council, stated that the exemption from general regulations, granted to "certain estates situated within the district of Cuttack" was not, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, founded "upon any claims which the proprietors have to the exercise of

1. From the Commissioner to Mount Stuart Elphinstone, 18th November 1804.
2. From G. Stockwell, Suprintendent, to the Secretery, Judicial department 9th July 1829. Section 36 of Regulation XII of 1805 specified the Estate which the regulations were not extended.
3. Minute on the admiuistration the Tributary Mahals 1847 para I.
4. From the Commissioners to the Collector of Balasore, 8th April 1805.
5. Minute by Earl of Moira, 5th February, 1814.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

independent authority". On the other hand, his Lordship in Council felt "that it originated entirely from the opinion which was entertained of the uncivilized manners of the Zemindars themselves" and of the nature of the country "consisting most part of hills and jungles". These circumstances "rendered it extremely difficult to execute any process of the courts of judicature" in these areas. The Superintendent was asked to "establish such control over the Zemindars as may prevent the commission of crimes and outrages" to which they are addicted.[1]

On the 18th May 1814, E. Impey was appointed the Superintendent of the Tributary Estates. He immediately suggested for the extension of general regulations to the Tributary Estates. But N. B. Edmonstone, the Vice-President in Council, wanted "minute investigation" before the extension of the regulations to these Estates.[2] In October 1814, Raja of Dhenkanal was find rupees one thousand for inflicting personal injuries on three persons.[3]

In December 1814, John Richardson, senior Commissioner, submitted a report on Orissa. Section III of the Report dealt with the Ghaurjat Mehals' or Tributary Estates which were 29 in number. Sixteen of the Estates which were not liable to laws and regulations of the province paid much less tribute in comparison to the tributaries "situated within the dominion of government". While the annual tributes of the Rajas of Mayurbhanj and Dhenkanal were rupees 1001 and 4780 respectively, the tributes of the Zamindars of Marichpur and Aul were rupees 29,000 and 27,000 respectively. The Commissioner (who probably resented the power exercised by the Judge and Magistrate as the Superintendent) opposed the idea of extending the laws and regulations, specially the Police laws to the Tributary Mahals. He pointed out that the revenue from the estates of the chiefs being fixed, "government has no means of covering the expenses that establishing the Police system in these distant and unproductive Districts would occasion". Moreover, "the establishment of Police Darogahs would only give rise to a different sort of Tyranny and oppression, perhaps, more galling to the Inhabitants of the territories in question, than that, of their ancient and despotic Governments".[4]

This Report stiffened the attitude of the Vice President. Impey made a draft of regulations which he sent on December 31,1814. But the Vice President did not like to introduce the criminal regulations in the Tributary Mahals "by coercive methods" employing military force.[5]

1. From the Secretary of the Council to J. Oswald, 10th February, 1814
2. From the Vice President in Council to E. Impey, July 1814
3. From J. Richardson to the Chief Secretary, 16th November, 1814
4. Report on the Tributary Estates in Orissa., 20th December, 1814
5. From the Secretary of the Council to E. Impey, 21st February, 1815

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

He suggested that the chiefs should be "invested with the general superintendence and the management of the police within their respective estates" This measure "would not cause any dissatisfaction in the minds of the proprietors of the Tributary Mahals".[1]

Impey sent two 'Chuprassies' to Nayagarh, ordering the Raja to establish Police Thanas in his Zamindari. The Raja's Vakils had no shame to represent that the inhabitants of their master's estate are "quite wild and uncivilized". They will run away in alarm if the regulations of the Government are introduced. "The country will be depopulated" and it will not be possible for the Raja to pay the tribute.[2]

Impey was instructed to proceed in person to the Tributary estates for the purpose of obtaining more accurate information "regarding their actual state".[3] He sent the 'draught' of a regulation for the administration of justice in criminal cases in the Tributary Mahals, which was forwarded to the Nizamat Adwalat "for their sentiments". James Stuart, Judge of the Nizamat Adwalat in his Minute opposed "the policy of interfering in the interior of these estates to the extent which the regulation proposes", on the ground that the Maratha government "abstained from interposition in the internal management" of these inaccessible and 'wild' estates.[4]

The Governor General in Council accepted his suggestion that only a few simple rules of the Police laws should be introduced at present in the Tributary Mahals. Though in the judgment of his Lordship, the civil regulations should not be introduced for some time in these Mahals, he recommended that a "legal enactment"be made to decide the questions relating to succession,[5] which was done by the Regulation XI of 1816. Impey sent a plan to extend immediately the whole of the civil regulations in the Tributary Mahals. But the Governor General rejected the plan as 'inexepedient' and "liable to serious objection".[6] Thus Impey's efforts to introduce the civil and criminal regulations in the Tributary Mahals for the protection of the ryots failed.

On a petition from the Raja of Dhenkanal, the Secretary to the Government sent a stern note to Impey pointing out that the office of the Superintendent was created to prevent the commission of crimes and intrigues by the Zamindars. "It is not the object of government to weaken the

1. From the Secretary of the Council to E. Impey, 14th March 1815
2. Petitions of the Raja of Nayagarh and of his Vakils to the Vice President in Council, 23rd May and 10th July, 1815
3. From the Secretary of the Council to E. Impey, 27th September, 1815
4. Minute of James Stuart, Judge of the Nizamat Adwalat, 5th January, 1816
5. From the Secretary of the Council to E. Impey, 15th January, 1816
6. From the Chief Secretary Government to E. Impey, 31st May, 1816

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

influence of the Rajas of the Tributary Mahal over their peasantry".[1] During the rebellion of the Paiks of Khurda in 1817, the Raja of Nayagarh rendered active services to the Government.

In 1818, a Regulation for the maintenance of peace and for the administration of justice in the Tributary Mahals in Zilla Cuttack was introduced. The Police, subject to the control of the Superintendent, was entrusted to the chiefs of the sixteen Tributary Mahals, included in the province of Cuttack. They were however prohibited from trying persons charged with murder, robbery and other heinious crimes.[2] Impey was transferred (and subsequently dismissed by the Court of Directors on a charge of bribery and corruption while holding the office at Cuttack) and in April 1818, R. Kerr was appointed the Commissioner of Orissa and the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals. In 1820, W. Blunt, Commissioner and Superintendent, 'reagitated' for partial introduction of the laws of British Orissa in the Tributary Mahals and submitted a scheme. Government dissented on some points. "The subject was dropped and forgotten".[3] On the 10th August 1821, the Government issued instruction to the Superintendent that the interference of the Superintendent should be chiefly confined "to matters of political nature" and to the prevention of crime.

Thus the status of the Garhjat chiefs who were treateed as jungle or hill zamindars in 1803 improved to a great extent within two decades. Edmonstone was of opinion that any interference in administration on the part of the Superintendent would weaken the influence of the Rajas of these backward territories over their peasantry, and even Lord Hastings came to share his views. In 1833, the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals was directed by the Government "not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Tributary Mahals". This policy condemned the Garhjat people to the unbridled tyranny of the rulers of many of the Tributary Mahals for a century and a quarter.

HAIDAR ALI AND TIRUCHIRAPPALLI (1781)

Dr. T. V. Mahalingam

Some of the manuscripts in the Mackenzie collection are of considerable value for a study of the history of South India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and supplement in a large measure the information

1. From the Chief Secretary to the Government to E. Impey, 21st June, 1816
2. Regulation for the administration of Justice in the Tributary Estates. 20th Nov., 1818
3. Minute on the administration of the Tributary Estates, para 4, 1847.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

supplied by the English and French records on the events of the period. At times they give some information which is not available in other sources. Among such manuscripts is one that relates to the history of the Turaiyur Zamindari in the present Tiruchirappalli District in the Madras State. The manuscript which was collected by Col. Mackenzie the first Surveyor-General of India is available in full in *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Restored Vol. III, pp. 161-176 and has been noticed by Taylor in Vol. III of his Catalogue Raisonne of Oriental Manuscripts in the Government Library (1862). It throw some welcome light on the part played by Kumara Venkatāchala Reddiyār and Vijaya Venkatāchala Reddiyār (father and son) of the Turaiyur Zamindari in defeating Haidar Ali who invaded and besieged Tiruchirappalli in June 1781.

Haidar whose avowed objects were "the extermination of the British power in India" and the weakening of the power of the Nawab Muhammad Ali Wallajah of the Carnatic took advantage of the general weakness of the Madras Government in 1780 and descended into the Carnatic country with a large army in June of that year, plundering and destroying the area on his way and thus commencing what is popularly known as the Second Mysore War. After descending into the region by the pass of Changama he divided his army into two divisions and directed the smaller one to raid the entire country from Masulipatam (Machli Bandar) in the north to Madurai and Rāmesvaram in the south. Having sent a few other detachments to some other parts of the Carnatic, he himself marched through the Cārnatic with the remaining army and laid siege to Arcot. In the meanwhile the English army under the command of Sir Hector Munro and with a number of field officers was concentrated at Conjeevaram forty five miles west of Madras. Col. Baillie who was proceeding towards the place from the north was intercepted by Haidar's forces at Pallalur and destroyed on 10th September 1780. Sir Hector Munro then retreated to Madras. Haidar then continued the siege of Arcot for nearly two and half months, took it, and proclaimed his son as the Nawab of the Carnatic. Then he took a number of other places like Āmbūr, Wandiwash and Chinglput and besieged Vellore. But Sir Eyre Coote who had been made Commander of the English forces came upon the scene early in 1781, relieved Chingleput and Wandiwash and forced Haidar to raise the siege of Vellore.

Having lost his hold over the region Haidar marched with his army south to Portonovo (Muhammad Bandar) and the northern bank of the Coleroon. From thence he sent detachemnts of his army to the Tanjore area and ravaged the country. It is said that on that occasion "weavers and their families were collected and forcibly sent to people the island of Seringapatam. Captive boys destined to the exterior honour of Islam

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

were driven to the same place with equal numbers of females, the associates of (then) present and the mothers of a future race of military slaves". One of the detachments, under the command of Haidar Ali's son Tipu, overran Srīrangam and Jambukesvaram and proceeded towards Tiruchirappalli and began to invest the fort; but he was defeated by Mr. Hall, the officer commanding it. However Haidar Ali pitched his camp very near the fort on the eastern side, attacked the English and took many of them prisoners, though Mr. Hall himself made good his escape. Meanwhile Tipu who had strengthened himself at Srīrangam with the troops of Mons. Lally made ready for an attack of the Tiruchirappalli fort during the night from the west.

Hall and Nixon were straining every nerve to save the fort from falling into the hands of the invaders. They recruited the entire civil population of the place for its protection. Further according to the Kaifiat in the Mackenzine collection, referred to at the beginning, Nixon and Major Sullivan appealed for help to Kumāra Venkatāchala Reddiyār the Zamindar of Turaiyur as also his son Vijaya Venkatāchala Reddiyār and requested them to immediately proceed to Tiruchirappalli with soldiers, artillery etc. Immediately they marched to the place with an army of 10000 soldiers (probably an exaggerated number) fought against the Mysore generals and defeated them; and as a result of that they left the area and went back. According to the work, the European officers at Tiruchirappalli were so mightily pleasesd with the splendid service which the Zamindar of Turaiyur and his son rendered at a very critical period that they rewarded them with such honours as rising and firing eleven guns when they entered the fort and gave them certificates of distinction.

The above account is in a way confirmed by the *Koyilolugu* a Tamil work that deals with the history of the Srirangam temple. It contains some interesting details about the invasion of Tiruchirappalli by Haidar Ali. According to it after Saka 1703 in the month of Āni (c. A.D. 1781, June-July) of the cyclic years Plavanga Haidar marched with a lac of soldiers, occupied Tondaimandalam and Colamandalam, destroying the country through which he passed and surrounded Srirangam. A crore of inhabitants could not contain themselves in the temple....Haidar who had stationed himself in the temple for six days suffered heavy losses on the seventh day (on which day he had intended to plunder the temple) and ran away. Though there is some confusion here, for the work refers to the occupation of the temple by Haidar Ali while in fact it was occupied only by his son Tipu, it can be explained by the circumstance that Haidar was very near Srirangam during the period and Tipu was obviously acting only under the directions of his father.

But the English sources relating to these incidents would probably make one believe that Haidar Ali could have taken Tiruchirappalli had

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

it not been for certain unexpected developments that took place in the north which forced Haidar to abandon his attempt at the capture of the fort. According to them Sir Eyre Coote who was in charge of the operations against Haidar Ali in the north made strenuous attempts to take Chidamabaram and its pagoda which were under the command of Jehan Khan appointed to the place by Haidar Ali; but finding it difficult he returned to Portonovo to procure battering guns and other necessaries. When Haidar heard of the critical condition in which Chidambaram was, he was forced to give up his siege of Tiruchirapalli and proceed to Chidambaram.

But the evidence supplied by the two pieces of work mentioned above, the kaifiyat of the Zamindari of Turaiyur and the Koyilolugu, makes one believe that Haidar Ali who was practically in possession of Srirangam and area round Tiruchirappalli was not able to take the fort on account of the stiff resistance he had from the officers in command of the place who were well supported by the civilian population as also the army from Tuaiyur. They clearly show that he was foiled in his attempt to take the place. It was a historical accident that at the same time Chidambaram was in danger of falling into the hands of Sir Eyre Coote. Hence Haidar Ali rushed to the place, abandoning at least for the time being, his idea of taking Tiruchirappalli.

GHADR REBELLION IN THE PUNJAB 1913-1915

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH., M. A.

During the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of 20th century many Sikh emigrants from the Punjab went to Malaya States and China and from there they migrated to Canada and United States as these countries offered them good prospects of employment.[1] This process of migration was continued for some time with the result that in 1914 we find numerous Indians especially Sikhs living in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Malaya States, America and Canada. In Canada and U.A.S. all Indians were looked down[2] upon by the Europeans settlers there as the

1. Sedition Committee Report, 1918, p.147.

2. In the end of 1914 an officer of Central Intelligence office, Delhi writes:— "The information at our disposal shows that in America there are probably some 6,000 or 7000 Indians, half being in U.S.A. and half in Canada. The great majority of these are Sikhs. There are also some 200 or 300 students nearly all Hindus and chiefly Bengalis at the American Universities". Assistant Superintendent for Sikhs

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Indians disturbed their economy by working on much lower wages. Due to this economic factor there occurred numerous racial riots at different places.

The Government of the country always sided with the Europeans and passed various Acts restricting the entry of the Indians. (Chinese and Japanese were accorded lenient treatment.) These measures aggravated their condition. Some Russian communists who had fled from Tsarist persecution came in contact with Indians there. They explained to them that colour prejudice was a part of workers' exploitation and it was another facet of class snobbery. The German spies who were there just before the outbreak of First World War worked upon their anti-British feelings. All these factors brought them firm conviction that their miseries,[1] sufferings and humiliation were due to the fact that their home Government was not their own. They decided to free their motherland by organising an armed rebellion.

Organisation of Ghadr Party

In March 1913 a conference was called at Washington and invitations were sent to Indians living in various parts of Canada and U.S.A. The sponsors of this conference were Sohan Singh Bhakna, Wasakha Singh,[2] Jawala Singh,[3] Kartar Singh Saraba[4] and Hardyal.[5] Hardyal had toured the Pacific coast and was able to enlist the support of Khalsa Dewan Stockton, Hindustan Association and British Columbia and Vancouver United India League. About two hundred delegates attended this conference and Hindi Association was founded with Sohan Singh Bhakna as its President, Baba Kesar Singh, Vice President, Hardyal, Secretary and Pandit Kashi Ram, Treasurer. The aim was the libera-

Shanghai Municipal Police states:—The Indian community in Shangahi numbers roughly about 1,100 of whom about 900 are Sikhs. Hongkong the figures are given 2000. In Straits settlements there are also many Indians, mostly ordinary country coolies but with a fair number of Sikhs at places such as Singapore, Penang, Kelantan Kaula Lumpar.

An Account of Ghadr Conspiracy

Published by Indian Police, page 46-47.

1. The Sikhs by Khuswant Singh, page 23.

2. Baba Sohan Singh is still living at village Bhakna near Amritsar. Baba Wasakba Singh is at Amritsar.

3. Baba Jawala Singh died in 1938 A. D. as a result of motor accident. He founded two scholarships for Indian students in America. He represented California in the Ghadr Party. Baba Jawala Singh by Dr. Bhag Singh (Gurmukhi) page 26.

4. Kartar Singh was the son of Mangal Singh of village Saraba Distt. Ludhiana. He went to America to study in California University, Berkeley. He was one of the founder members. Though very young he smilingly kissed gallows. (Shahid Jiwanian Gurmukhi, page 106).

5. Hardyal was born in 1884, was educated at St. Stephens College, Delhi. Later he joined Government College, Lahore for his M.A. He was selected for State-Scholarship in England. At close of 1907 he resigned his scholarship devoted his life for national work.

Ghadr Conspiracy, page 1.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tion of India from the[1] foreign rule and if necessary by force of arms. The headquarters of the party was to be at San Francisco., as it was considered most suitable place to keep in touch with the Indian revolutionaries in other countries. The Press and paper were started. The site of the press and its office was to be known as Yugantar Ashram and the paper was named Ghadr. First issue of Ghadr appeared on November 1, 1913. It was published in Urdu, Gurmukhi and Gujrati. Besides this Yugantar Ashram published following pamphlets:—

1. Ghadr di Gunj (Echo of Mutiny). This was written in Gurmukhi and was particularly addressed to the Sikhs.

2. Another pamphlet was Illan-i-jang. (Declaration of War). It was published in Urdu. It gave graphic picture of India's slavery by bringing out economic exploitation by the English.

3. Another pamphlet was Nia Zamana (New Era). It began with Ode in praise of Tilak whose example the paper exhorted to follow. It appealed to all Indians to wake up and work in the real earnest for the salvation of India which was to be found in obtaining liberty and equality for all.

4. The fourth pamphlet was "Balance Sheet of rule in India". It included fourteen items.

Item No. 4-5 dealt with famines and plagues which occurred in India.

Item No. 10th dealt with destruction of Indian craft for the sake of British industries.

Item No. 11 dealt with the Indian sacrifices done for the sake of British conquest in Burmah, Afghanistan and China.[2]

There occurred a few incidents which favoured the popularity of the doctrines of revolution. One such event was the deportation of Bhai Bhagwan Singh,[3] the Granthi or priest of Vancouver Gurdwara. Bhai Bhagwan Singh was very enthusiastic revolutionary. In his lectures he used to criticise the misdeeds of home Government. He was a poet and recited his poems which breathed armed rebellion against tyranny and oppression. Within short time he became one of the most popular figures. But Immigration Department got him arrested on some technical ground and sent him back to Hong Kong. This brought great resentment among the Indians livingt here.

1. Baba Jwala Singh by Dr. Bhag Singh (Gurumukhi), p. 26.

2. Ghadr Conspiracy published by Indian Police, pp. 22-30.

3. Bhai Bhagwan Singh left India in 1909 and proceeded to Penang where he became Granthi. Later on he went to Hong Kong as Granthi of the Gurdwara at Hong Kong. In 1913 he went to Canada and joined the Ghadr Party. He was a poet and used to move the audience with his stirring poems.

Guru Nanak Jehaz di Musafir by Baba Gurdit Singh (Gurmukhi), p. 8.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In May 1914 the venture of Komagatu Maru shook the Indians living in foreign countries. The ordinance of Canadian Government empowered the Immigration authorities to prohibit the entrance of any Asian into Canada unless he comes from the country of his origin by direct voyage, and was able to produce 200 dollars. There were no ships by which Indians could go direct. In order to meet emigration authorities' technical objection Baba Gurdit Singh assisted by S. Daljit Singh, editor Punjabi Bhain, Ferozepur chartered the ship-Komagata Maru and renamed it Guru Nanak Jehaz. Three hundred emigrants from various places were picked up. When this ship reached Vancouver in May 1914 the emigrants were told that with the exception of former residents and a few students no one could be allowed to land.

The passengers of Komagata Maru were subjected to all sort of miseries and afflictions. Some time after the arrival provisions of the Komagata Maru ran short. The immigration authorities denied them water and provision. This gave good material for American Newspapers that published the following interview with Baba Gurdit Singh :—

"Baba Gurdit Singh declared dramatically, "Then you can send thousand soldiers against us if you will, we would sooner die here in the harbour than go to sea unless we get provision right now, see our shore friends and have our sick attended to." The conference ended right there.[1]

On 18th July 1914 Canadian policemen attempted to take possession of the ship. The Police were beaten back by semi-starved and unarmed passengers. This brought the wrath of Dominion Government and the passengers found 3600 ton cruiser, the Rainbow's guns trained on them. This inflamed minds of the Indians all over the world and compelled the Government to move Rainbow from the harbour.[2]

The war was declared on the 4th August in Germany. Indians living in America thought it most opportune time to expel the British from India. After this it was the declared of Yugantar Ashram and other Indian organisations to arrange the return of Indians living in America for organising an armed rebellion for throwing off the foreign yoke.[3]

The Government of India on the other hand became more vigilent and issued Ingress into India Ordinance on 5th September 1914. This ordinance provided for control of the persons entering British India

1. Daily Vancouver Province, dated 9th July, 1914.
   From the report preserved in the Punjab Record office, Simla.
2. The Sikhs by Khuswant Singh, p. 128.
   Sedition Committee Report, p. 147.
3. The Shamsher Khalsa of Oct. 15th 1914 published a notice to the effect that the Khalsa Diwan Stockton having received numerous requests from settlers to effect the sale from their land, has made arrangement with a Company for the purpose. Settlers intending to sell their land should communicate with Khalsa Diwan. The object is no doubt to facilitate the return of Indians to take part in coming rebellion in India. Ghadr Conspiracy, p. 52.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

whether by sea or land. Later on this ordinance was made the basis for Defence of India Act 1915.

Soon after the issue of this ordinance Komagata Maru arrived on the mouth of Hughli on 26th September. The ship was brought up the river to Budge Budge, where the special train was arranged for carrying them to the Punjab. The passengers did not want to go to their homes as paupers as most of them had left all their homes with the hope of earning a livelihood abroad. They wanted to seek employment in a big city like Calcutta. The passengers, therefore, left the ship carrying Granth Sahib and a flag in front of them and moved towards Calcutta in procession. But they were forced back to railway station where a scuffle ensued and police opened fire. Twenty one Sikhs were killed. Others were forcibly handcuffed and put in the train bound for the Punjab. Some of the passengers including Gurdit Singh escaped.[1]

When the revolutionaries heard the fate of Komagata Maru they decided to reach India by different ships. Tosha Maru reached Calcutta with some leaders of Ghadr Movement like Founder President Sohan Singh Bhakna. But they were immediately arrested. Nidhan Singh, Jawala Singh, Jagat Ram and Kosar Singh came via Colombo in 'Korea'. They reached Punjab after visiting Gurdwara Nauder Hyderabad. Nippon Maru brought Kartar Singh who also reached Punjab via Colombo. Fiazang brought Jagat Singh, Foo Sang Piara Singh and Harnam Singh and Nam Sang, Nand Singh and Jawand Singh[2]

The general situation in the Punjab was, favorable for the leaders of Ghadr Movement. After the outbreak of war legend of invincibility of Germany gained currency. There was great discontent among the Sikhs on account of various religious issues, such as proposal to limit the size of "Kirpan", the religious emblem of the Sikhs. In the beginning of 1914 the Government had demolished the wall of Gurdwara Rikabganj, New Delhi. This led to a great agitation among the Sikhs. Police firing on the passengers of Kumagata Maru, who were mostly Sikhs brought the Sikh masses some conviction that their brethren were unjustly being put to various troubles. All these factors prepared the ground for the leaders of Ghadr Movement for prompt action.

Ghadr Rebellion in the Punjab

The leaders of the Ghadr movement were Kesar Singh, Jagat Ram, Rur Singh, Rain Jawala Singh, Mulla Singh, Bhai Permanand of D.A.V. College, Lahore, Rash Behari from Benaras and Ganesh Das Pingley joined them later on. Jagat Ram was sent to Peshawar for purchase of arms. Bhai Parmanand was entrusted with propaganda work. Dr.

1. Sedition Committee Reports, p. 148.
   The Sikhs by Khushwant Singh, p. 130.
2. Ghadr Conspiracy, p. 57, 58.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Mathra Singh[1] was appointed for manufacture of bombs. In the beginning the Ghadrites were most active in the Amritsar District and Amritsar was made the headquarter.

The leaders of Ghadr Movement met on the Diwali occasion at Amritsar and on annual fair at Nanakana Sahib. Later on a meeting was held at Khasa, District Amritsar in which Kartar Singh Saraba participated. The next meeting was held on the monthly fair of Amavas at Tarn Taran and at Jhar Sahib, a Gurdwara where it was decided to act in unison with other revolutionaries working in different districts. A meeting was also held on 17th November at Ludhowal where it was decided that Kartar Singh Saraba should lead the assault on Lahore Cantonment. Nidhan Singh, leader of Ferozepur District decided to lead the attack on Ferozepur Cantonment on 30th November but later on date was postponed.[2]

Later on Rash Behari joined the movement and at his suggestion headquarters were changed from Amritsar to Lahore.[3]

One of the major items of the programme was to persuade the troops to join the movement. Mula Singh was appointed for this purpose. The Sowars of 23rd Cavalry, especially Lachhman Singh Lance Dafedar, were won over and they had promised to march out and join the armed rebellion at the appointed hour. As a token of their assurance they sent a sword to the leaders of the movement. One returned emigrant enlisted himself in 22nd Cavalry. Nidhan Singh and Kartar Singh contacted men at Ferozepur. Piara Singh went to Frontier Cantonments. During the first two months of 1915 emissaries were sent to all Cantonments in Northern India.[4]

The revolutionaries badly needed money. Their gangs went to various villages and openly declared there that their aim was not to injure any body but to secure money for expelling the British from India. At Rohun Uchhi, District Ludhiana a party went to a rich widow's house and compelled her to surrender the wealth she possessed. But she protested that she also needed money for her maintenance. On this some money was left there and rest was taken by them.

30th November 1914 was fixed the date for general rising. Later on the date was postponed. Finally 21st February 1915 was appointed the date. The Ghadr leaders were to attack Lahore Cantonment and to secure ammunition and cooperation of the 23rd Cavalry, Kartar Singh, Balwant Singh and Randhir Singh were to secure cooperation of 26th Punjabi and ammunition at Ferozepur Cantonment. Besides this telephone

1. Mathra Singh was born in 1883 A.D. in village Dhudial, District Jhelum. He went to Shanghai in 1913. Later on he came to Punjab and joined the movement. He was executed on March 27, 1917. Shahid Jiwanian (Gurmukhi), p. 200-11.
2. Ghadr Conspiracy, p. 69-72.
3. Sedition Committee Report, p. 154.
4. Sedition Committee Report, p. 154.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

wires were to be cut and police stations were to be looted in order to secure arms.[1]

Collapse of the plot

The Amritsar Police came to know the activities of Mula Singh and they appointed one Kirpal Singh to work secretly among the revolutionaries. Kirpal Singh was also a returned emigrant from Shangai and was known to Nidhan Singh who admitted him in the inner circle of the workers. He reported to police the whole plot and its details and got arrested some of the revolutionaries at Amritsar. When leaders of the movement came to know that Police had known their programme they changed the date to be 19th Feburary instead of 21st February. This was again communicated to the police and the Government strengthened all the Cantonments and took preventive measures. Mula Singh was arrested. The police attacked some of the revolutionaries at Anarkali, Lahore but they boldly faced the police and killed the Sub Inspector Police. One Arjan Singh was, however, captured and two, Sajan Singh and Bata Singh, escaped.[2]

On 19th February, 23rd Cavalry was kept on duty throughout the night. Hence no body dared to move out. At Ferozepur Kartar Singh was to assault the Cantonment. A party of about seventy persons was ready and Kirpa Singh was sent to bring these sepoys who had promised to join. But they never came and the party waiting for whole night dispersed finding that the plot had been forestalled. After the collapse of the plot Rash Behari fled from the Punjab and other leaders were arrested one by one.[3] Pingley was arrested at Meruth.[4]

Sir Michael O Dwyer, the Governor of the Punjab reported "It is not desirable at present time to allow trials of these revolutionaries or of other sedition mongers to be protracted by ingenuity of counsel and drawn out to inordinate lengths by committal and appeal procedures which the criminal law provides".[5] Their trial was to be summary before three judges and there could not be any appeal.

The military men who were to join the rising were court martialled and shot. Nine batches of conspirators were tried by Special Tribunal under the Defence of India Act. Twentyfour were sentenced to death and confiscation of property, twentysix to transportation for life. The Viceroy himself commuted the sentence of all but seven to that of transportation to Andamans. Among them were Sohan Singh Bhakna, Bhai Parma Nand, Pandit Jagat Ram, Baba Wasakha Singh, Baba Nidhan

1. Ghadar Conspiracy, p. 108-109.
2. Shahid Jiwanian (Gurmukhi), pp. 162. It was Banta Singh who fired at the Police. Banta Singh was born in 1890 in village Sangwal, District Jullundur. He was arrested and sentenced to death.
3. Ghadr Conspiracy, p. 110.
4. Sedition Committee Report, p. 164.
5. Sedition Committee Report, p. 151.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Singh, Harnam Singh of Gurmukh Singh, Prithvi Singh Azad. On 19th November seven men including Kartar Singh Saraba, Bakshish Singh and Pandit Kashi Ram[1] were executed.[2]

A STUDY OF THE ATTEMPTS FOR INDO-TURKISH COLLABORATION AGAINST THE BRITISH

SHRI QUEYAM UDDIN AHMAD

1. The 18th and the 19th centuries of the Indian History are rather full of various isolated and sporadic attempts and struggles against the English. The wars of Tipu Sultan and the Marhathas against the English, the Wahabee movement of the mid-nineteenth century and the struggle of 1857-59 are some of the more important and well known instances. Besides these general movements, several Provincial attempts, like the Santhal Rising in Bihar can also be cited as instances. A lot of factors which may not be characterised as purely nationalist, acted as the motivating force behind these movements, but the one common thread of anti-English feeling ran through all these movements. The present paper is based on the study of some confidential official correspondence relating to the attempt for an Indo-Turkish collaboration against the English. These records covering the years 1870-80, consist of a memorandum summarising the history of the movement, the persons chiefly involved in it, the ways and means adopted and also the report of local authorities in Bihar on the working of the movement in their respective jurisdiction.

The origin of the movement for alliance with Turkey goes back to the time of Tipu Sultan. In his trial of strength with the English, Tipu Sultan had, very early, realised the fact that in order to present a really strong front against the English, whose resources were flung far and wide, it was necessary for him to have a system of alliance with some foreign powers. The French would have been his obvious choice, against the English, under the political circumstances prevailing at the time, but they had acted rather dubiously with him during the second Anglo-Mysore war and even after that they had not responded very encouragingly to his attempts for an alliance against the English. Tipu Sultan next turned to Turkey. After a preliminary sounding of the prospects at Constantinople in 1784, an Embassy was despatched there, in the following year. It consisted of Ghulam Ali Khan, Shah Nurullah, Lutuf Ali Beg

1. Pandit Kashi Ram was born in 1881 at village Mauranda, District Ambala. He was selected Treasurer of Ghadr Party in America. He was one of the most active members of Ghadr Movement and he was sentenced to death.
2. The Sikhs by Khuswant Singh, pp. 131-32.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and Mchammad Hanif. One of the objects of Tipu Sultan in sending the Embassy was to secure the military alliance of Turkey against the English.[1] Tipu, however, failed in his struggle against the English, because the contemporary Indian powers failed to rise above personal jealousies and to realise the true significance of the English menace. The idea of the alliance with Turkey, however, did not die down with Tipu. Almost a century later, we find the British Government faced with a very organised movement for creating an Indo-Turkish alliance against themselves. The press and platform, personal meetings, formation of committees, collection of funds for mutual aid and the various other modern techniques of strengthening the bonds between the two countires were tried by the protagonists of the movement.

The main points of the Memorandum are as follows. In September 1880 a committee of Indian residents in Constantinople was formed which was in constant correspondence with the various committees, formed in India sometime before the Russo-Turkish war, which were collecting funds for Turkey. Some of the chief Indians working at Constantinople for this object were the following:—

(i) Akbar Khan of Punjab.
(ii) Nusrat Ali Khan of Delhi.
(iii) Maulvi Azmat Ali of Bihar.

Azmat Ali, who was a vakil in the Calcutta High Court was a resident of Aliganj, Sewan, Saran District. He was the first delegate to go to Turkey, ostensibly with the *purpose* of enquiring into the allocation and expenditure of funds collected for Turkey, in India, but actually for establishing contacts between India and Turkey. Osman Pasha, the one time Prime Minister of Turkey and one of the chief patrons of the movement utilised him as the medium of communication with India. His activities caused much concern to the British authorities in India and the information was sought from the Police Commissioner, Calcutta, regarding his whereabouts.[2] In order to reward some member of committee who worked in the interest of an Indo-Turkish alliance and also to induce their fellow citizens to take an active interest in the movement, Saeed Pasha initiated the scheme of awards of decorations by the Sultan. These awards were symbolic of the interest and patronisation of the Sultan in the movement.

According to the information received by the British Embassy at Constantinople, the centre of these anti-British intrigues in India was Bombay and Hussain Effinde, the Turkish Consul there, was the medium of communications and contact with Turkey. In September 1880 a

1. See History of Tipu Sultan by Mohibbul Hassan Khan.
2. Letter, dated 28th July, 1899, from the Police Chief, Calcutta.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

society called Anjumane-Islam was established at Bombay with its branches at Calcutta, Delhi, Benaras, and Hyderabad. The Embassy authorities at Constantinople gleaned out some information regarding the aims and objects as well as the working of this Society from a certain Indian merchant Abdul Rahim who had attended two meetings of the Anjuman-e-Islam as a visitor. Its membership, including some high government official, totalled 350. They paid a minimum monthly subscription of Rs. 2/-. The Anjuman displayed with great ostentation the various charitable activities, it was engaged in, but the real object, according to the testimony of Abdul Rahim, was to "overthrow the power of Great Britain". He also reported that non-Muslims freely participated in the work of the Anjuman. A Committee for the aid of Turkey was also formed at Bombay. This also, like the Anjuman, engaged itself outwardly in the collection of funds for Turkey but its real aims were inimical to England.

In December 1879 one Nusrat Ali Khan, an Indian resident at Constantinople proposed the establishment of an Urdu newspaper styled "Paik-e-Islam". The first issue of the paper was printed at the Imperial Printing Press and published in May, 1880. A large number of copies of the paper were sent to the Indian Princes. The objects of the paper were described in a report, by its Editor, to the Sultan to be (i) to tighten the relation between Turkey and India and (ii) to afford the means of addressing the Indians on religious and political matters. The Editor claimed that a large number of Indian Princes were interested in the movement and also ready to extend financial help to the Sultan. The aims and the objects of the paper being so decidedly hostile to the British rule in India, a representation was made, by the British Ambassador with the result that the paper was suppressed, shortly after its first appearance. The message of Paik-e-Islam, was however, soon taken up by a Persian paper called "Al Akhtar" published at Constantinople and edited by Agha Mohammad Tahir. The Indian Committee at Constantinople soon adopted this journal as their mouthpiece. The paper was suspended for sometime owing to some financial stringency but the Nizam of Hyderabad came to its rescue. Another Persian journal (fortnightly) styled "The Ghairat" made its appearence at London at about this time. It also advocated the formation of an anti-Western front and used hostile language against the British. A few pamphlets written in much the same vein also made their appearance, both from Constantinople and Delhi. One such pamphlet entitled "Huq-e-Sultan" written by Nusrat Ali Khan, the Editor of Paik-e-Isalm, had a very good reception among the public. It stressed the glory and the greatness of the institution of Caliphate and the need of giving financial aid to Turkey.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Agents from Turkey, Hedjaz, and Afghanistan were busy establishing a closer contact between the leading protagonists of the movement. In June, 1880 an agent of Saeed Pasha was sent to Kabul in the guise of a mendicant on a mission hostile to England. Abu Mottalib, the Grand Sherif of Mecca who was thoroughly opposed to the English was busy establishing contacts in India, through some pilgrims to Mecca, with a view to inciting seditious movements against the British. The agents of Bombay committee were reported to be working upon the Muslims of the Panjab and the Frontier exhorting them not to let themselves be exploited by the English and to refuse to fight against the Afghans. The Sultan was aware of much of these secret activities.

Collections of funds for the aid of Turkey had been going on since 1876, in the various parts of Bihar as well as outside, according to the reports of the District authorities. The Magistrate of Motihari (Dist. Champaran) in a letter dated 25th July, 1877, reported that a joint meeting of Hindus and Muslims was held in the compound of the District School for collection of funds for Turkey. The Magistrate of Muzaffarpur, in a letter dated 6th June, 1877 reported that the Hindus were participating in the campaign for collection of funds for Turkey, and contributing to it. The Magistrate of Gaya also reported that even in out of way villages, women sold their ornaments in order to contribute to the funds. There was nothing secret about the campaign and some meetings, in this connection, were held with the permission of the authorities concerned. However, behind the outer facade of this humanitarian campaign grim political objectives were being assiduously pursued.

The Sultan was, in the beginning a little hesitant to associate himself openly with these anti-British activities. But Ghazi Osman Pasha, ever since the termination of the Russo-Turkish war was persuading the Sultan to take a little more interest in India, and to exercise his spiritual authority as a lever for furthering political objectives. Saeed Pasha represented before the Sultan that the British Government was holding up the remittance of a large amount of funds collected in aid of Turkey from all over India had also prevented Indian volunteers from going to Turkey and joining the Russo-Turkish war. To make his argument stronger Saeed Pasha engaged Nusrat Ali Khan to procure a signed memorial from some notable Indians who were anxious to strengthen the ties between India and Turkey. The representation had the desired effect and the greater interest of the Sultan in this movement was expressed in his award of decorations to the members of the Indian Committee at Constantinople as well as the permission for the establishment of the Paik-e-Islam.

A study of these records clearly show that the aim of the movement was essentially political. Its protagonists aimed at the overthrow of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

British Power, in India. It is true that ocassionally the religious affinities of the Indian Muslims with Turkey were played upon, but the aim was nevertheless political. The non-Muslim freely participated in the movement. It was also characterised by the first organised attempt at winning the sympathy of a foreign power in the struggle against the English.

THE FORWARD POLICY

Prof. Dilip Kumar Ghose

Introduction :—

The Forward Policy is a much discussed question of political strategy along the north-west frontier of British India. It has been discussed at considerable length by many eminent authors like Dr. Davies[1] and Colonel Hanna[2], Eastwick[3] and Bruce[4]. But none of them has categorically stated what constituted the Forward Policy, so that there is yet some scope for its restatement. Much confusion has indeed prevailed over the character of this policy with the result that "the public," as Lord Roberts rightly said, "are puzzled with regard to it,"[5] and even a man of Holdich's knowledge and experience had to remark, "I have never quite been able to grasp the exact tenets..of political faith denoted by the 'forward' policy."[6]

Origin :—

With the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, closely following upon the conquest of Sind, the north-west frontier of British India was advanced across the river Indus to the foot of the rocky mountain ranges, which separate the plains of the Indus Valley from the higher plateaus of Afganisthan and Khelat. These mountain ranges formed a vast irregular belt of independent or semi-independent territory, which was inhabited by fierce marauding tribes and was something of a buffer between India and Afganisthan, just as Afganisthan formed a buffer between the Russian possessions in Central Asia and the Indian Empire. The frontier thus reached was referred to in many quarters as 'unscientific', and so the question arose whether the 'red line' was to be advanced further to the north-west until a 'scientific' frontier was reached, or it was to remain

1. North-West Frontier.
2. India's Scientific Frontier.
3. Lord Lytton and the Afghan War.
4. The Forward Policy and its Results.
5. Speech in the House of Lords, 7th March, 1898, Hansard, 1898, Vol. Liv, p. 750.
6. The Indian Borderland, p. 371.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

stationary at the foot of the rocky mountains. The military experts fell divided into two distinct schools—the Forward and the Stationary; and thus began, about a century ago, the conflict on the vital question of British political strategy along this great frontier of the Indian Empire. The Stationary School would have perhaps won their points had it not been for the fact that the mountain wall to the north-west of the Punjab and Sind is pierced by many highways, through which, from time immemorial foreign invaders had swooped down upon the plains of the Indus Valley. In the north the Khaibar Pass connects the Peshawar Valley with Kabul, in the Centre the Tochi and Gomal passes connect the plains with Ghazni and South Afganisthan, while the Mulla, the Bolan and the Khejak passes connect the plains of Sind with the plateaus of Khelat and Kandahar.

The advocates of the Forward School argued that control over the western end of these passes was imperative to keep a watch over what was happening on the other side of the hills. Afganisthan as such was not much to be feared, since on her own she was no match for British arms. It was the lengthening shadow of Russia that was disquietening to the British statesmen. At the time of the First Afghan war the Russian frontier was still beyond the Sea of Aral, but during the next decade Russia had steadily penetrated into Central Asia till in 1853 she assumed control of the great waterway of the Sri Dariya for a distance of 280 miles from its mouth. The next year Russia advanced further eastward into the valley of the Ili and the whole frontier between the basins of the Ili and Sri Darya was in a ferment.

The steady advance of Russia aroused apprehension, and it was feared that she would threaten, in alliance with Persia or even Afganisthan, the security of the Indian Empire. In 1856, General John Jacob,[1] the administrator of the Sind frontier, urged the then Viceroy, Lord Canning, to secure the Bolan route by occupying Quetta, and then to subsidise the Afghans with a view to cultivate their friendship. "When we are firmly established at Quetta," wrote Jacob, "we might, I think, then subsidise the Afghans with advantage..If we really intend (as I always suppose that we do really intend) to be fair and just to all men, and to conduct our public proceedings towards other states and other people according to the principles which guide the intercourse of honest men in private life, the true interest of Afganisthan must be one with our own, and be felt to be so by all its people. If all distrust of us be removed from the Afghan mind..the whole country would aid us heart and hand, an invasion of India would be impossible."[2]

1. Suggestions towards the permanent defence of N. W. Frontier of India, Views and Opinions, pp. 375-385.
2. Jacob, op. cit., p. 380 and p. 382.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Jacob's arguments made so considerable an impression on Lord Canning's mind that he might have forestalled Lord Lytton in the occupation of Quetta but for the opposition of Henry Durand, the Military Secretary to the Viceroy, who was able to convince Lord Canning that an occupation of Quetta would end in an advance on Kandahar or even Herat.[1]

Development and Objects :—

For the next ten years no more was heard of the importance of Quetta, but between 1866-68 three very important documents on frontier defence emanated in quick succession from the pens of Sir Henry Green, Jacob's successor in Sind, Lt. Col. P. S. Lumsden, and Sir Henry Rawlinson.

Green,[2] whose views were endorsed by Sir Bartle Frere,[3] then Governor of Bombay, did not advise the immediate occupation of Quetta, though he was "most decidedly of opinion that it is absolutely necessary that a position be occupied in advance of our present line of frontier, not with a view of attempting to stay Russian progress, but with a view of being prepared to meet her with advantage on our side under any circumstances that may occur." Green suggested "that the first object would be to gradually and in a peaceable manner clear the road leading towards the head of the Bolan Pass."

Lumsden,[4] on the other hand, while deprecating the idea of advance along the Bolan route, advocated friendship with Afganisthan and the occupation of the Koorum and Khost valleys, the revenues of which, however, were to be paid to the Amir. He urged the desirability of maintaining the neutrality of Afganisthan and of strengthening the hands of the Amir so as to forestall any foreign invasion of India. "With Afganisthan independent and her capital secured and connected with our internal lines of communication, our right is safe, and an aggressive power could only attack our left"—an attack, which, Lumsden believed, could not be undertaken "except during the cold season," and which, "with our communications perfected and our base on sea", could easily be repulsed.

Rawlinson's memorandum,[5] dated 20th July, 1868, was by far the most important af all. In it he discussed the Central Asian Question at length and suggested measures for the defence of the north-west frontier. He welcomed the idea of delimitation of the northern frontiers of Afganisthan, and urged active interference in that country with a view to establishing a strong state there, not so much out of fear of Russian invasion

1. Hanna, op. cit. p. 17
2. Minute dt. 16th Aug., 1866, on the Protection of the N. W. Frontier, Parliamentery Papers, 1878-79, vol. 77, pp. 112-116.
3. Minute dt. 26th Nov. 1866, Parl. Pap. 1878-79, Vol. 77, p. 123.
4. Note on Contral Asia, dt. 15th Sept., 1867, Parl. Papers, 1879, Vol. lxxvii, pp. 137-147.
5. Parl. Pap., 1878 (Afganisthan No. 1), pp. 31-41.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

but in order to forestall her influence in the court of Kabul. To check a Russian invasion of India he strongly recommended the fortification of Quetta, which, in his opinion, was of great strategic advantage as a "place d'armes."

With the fall of Khiva in 1873 occurred one of the periodical panics about the advance of Russia in Central Asia which drew from Sir Bartle Frere, who, in 1874 was a member of the Indian Council, a statement of his views on Frontier Policy expressed in a letter to Sir John Kaye, Secretary to the Political Department of the India office. In this letter,[1] dated 12 June 1874, Frere made three recommendations to check Russian advance towards India. First, an advanced post should be placed in the Khan of Khelat's territory at Quetta. Secondly, well selected English agents should be stationed "on the Indian side of a well-defined frontier"—at Cabul, Herat and Kandahar. The duty of these agents would be to cultivate the friendship of the Afghans and never to meddle with the internal Government of the country. If the Amir would object to the placing of a British agent at the capital, the Government of India should not insist on it and must rest content with placing the agent in the neighbourhood of Kabul from where he would be in a position to judge for himself and to report to the Government all that goes on at the capital. Thirdly, the Amir must be so perauaded that he might, in a friendly spirit, consult the English Government regarding all matters of foreign policy.

Col. Hanna would have us believe that Frere, in his above letter, recommended the policy of dismemberment of Afghanisthan which, in later years, was attempted by Lord Lytton. Referring to Frere's recommendations for an advanced outpost in Quetta and appointment of British agents in Afganisthan, Hanna writes, "Frere..consistently urged upon the Indian Secretary the advisability of clearing for action when taking them, and suggested that concessions which Shere Ali would not grant freely, might be wrung from him by the threat of helping his rebellious son, Yakub Khan, to make himself the Independent Ruler of Herat or might be obtained from the latter prince, as the price of actually assisting him to dismember the Kingdom,.."[2] But there is nothing in the relevant passage of Frere's letter which shows, or even postulates, that Frere ever contemplated the disintegration of Afganisthan. "But what," writes Frere, "if the Amir should object to follow our advice? If the matter did not affect his foreign relations, he might be left to follow his own inclinations, but if it affected such a question as his relations with other powers than ourselves, I would give him clearly to understand that he must not count on our support unless he followed our advice. I would

1. Martineau, 'Life and correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere' Vol. I, pp. 491-98.
2. Op. cit., p. 44.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

not break with him save in the last extremity, and after all hope of continuing friendly relations had disappeared; but I would clear for action, and give him unequivocally to understand that we held ourselves free to act as might seem best for our interests, which were to give foreign powers no good ground for interference with him or us."[1] Frere 'urged clearing for action' not in order to disintegrate Afganisthan but to prevent foreign powers from interfering in that country. Frere was convinced, as he wrote to Lord Salisbury on March 3, 1876, "that an independent Afganisthan, friendly to us, would be infinitely more valuable in everyway than a dependent or conquered Afganisthan."[2] The theory of disintegration was, in fact, Lytton's own, and if the Viceroy was supported in his scheme by any man that was Lord Canbrock[3] and not Sir Bartle Frere.

If the Forward Policy, in its wider aspect, was dictated by the necessity of defence of the Indian frontier against foreign aggression, on a closer view, it emanated from the need of internal defence against the plunderous raids of the border tribes. The entire belt of territory to the west of Sind and the Punjab, from the seaboard to Khagun glen, was inhabited by ferocious tribes who were dangerously inclined to marauding proclivities. They led frequent inroads into British territory and often escaped unpunished. Till the introduction of what has been called the 'Sandeman System'[4] the state of affairs on the north-west frontier was very unsatisfactory. The system that was then in force on the frontier was known by the term 'Close Border.' The term, however, was very inappropriate since the border was close on one side and open at the other. While the tribes were allowed to enter the British territories for commercial and other purposes, the officers or troops of the Indian Government were strictly forbidden to cross the frontier—not even in pursuit of offending persons. The result was that tribal atrocities continued unchecked, and the border was often in ferment. It was this unsatisfactory state of affairs that prompted Sandeman to evolve a new policy of conciliation and coercion in pursuit of which he often violated the prohibitions laid under the Close-Border System. Even while Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan Sandeman dared to violate the Close-Border System when he crossed the frontier into the hills beyond.[5] Thus was sounded the death-knell of the traditional system which had hitherto defied the challenge of the Forward School. Continuously did Sandeman work out his policy, and with so much success

1. Martineau, op. cit. p. 495.
2. Martineau, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 149.
3. Beaconsfield's letter to Queen Victoria dt. Dec. 5, 1879, Buckle's 'Life of Disraeli', Vol. vi, p. 484.
4. Bruce, op. cit. p. 3.
5. Bruce, op. cit., p.26.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

not only as regards the Baluchee tribes but also in regard to their more ferocious Pathan neighbours of Harnai, Quetta, Pishin, Thal Choteali, Bori and Zhob that the system came to be named after him. Though Lord Lytton took the first definite step in the direction of the Forward Policy by occupying Quetta in 1877, Robert Sandeman was his true precursor, and he certainly deserved the epithet, "the embodiment of the Forward Policy",[1] that was attributed to him by Lord Roberts.

Closely following upon the annexation of Quetta came the Second Afghan war and the resulting treaty of Gandamak,[2] with which the Forward Policy reached its highwatermark. The treaty secured to the English an effective control over the Amir's foreign relations, the two advance posts of Pishin and Sibi, and the right to station a British Resident at Kabul.

With the assassination of Cavagnari, however, the Treaty of Gandmak failed, and when the question of retention of Kandahar came up for consideration Sandeman stoutly opposed it on the ground that no British Government, whether Conservative or Liberal, had ever desired the dismemberment of Afganisthan.[3] He, however, urged the Home Government to retain the advanced posts of Pishin and Sibi,[4] and argued that the Amir could not object to their retention since "from an ethnological point of view the Afghan claims (on these districts) were untenable."[5] Though Lord Roberts strongly advocated the retention of Kandahar[6] his recommendation failed to stand the test of time and logic,[7] and so it did not carry much weight at the time. His views on Forward Policy were, however, clearly expressed in his speech[8] in the House of Lords in 1898 when he characterised the Forward Policy as "the policy of endeavouring to extend our influence over, and establish order on, that part of the border where anarchy, murder and robbery, upto the present have reigned supreme—a policy which has been attended with the happiest results in Baluchistan and on the Gilgit Frontier, is necessitated by the incontrovertible fact that a great European Power is now within striking distance of our Indian possessions, and in immediate contact with a state for the integrity of which we have made ourselves responsible."[9] He, thus, summed up the policy as one which would secure "political control

1. Speech in the House of Lords, 7th March, 1898, Hansard, 1898, Vol. liv, p. 755.
2. Parl. Pap. 1878-79, Vol. lvi, p. 691-93.
3. Parl. Pap. 1881, Vol. lxx, pp. 272-274.
4. Thornton, Life and work of Robert Sandeman, pp. 167-71.
5. Ibid., p. 168.
6. Parl. Pap. 1881, vol. lxx.
7. Vide the Memorandum of Evelyn Baring, member, Ripon's Executive Council, Parl. Pap. 1881, lxx, pp. 213-223.
8. Hansard, 1898, liv, pp. 750-759.
9. Ibid., p. 750.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

over the robber-haunted no-man's land which lies on our immediate frontier"[1] with a view to prevent any European power from striking at the gates of India or destroying the integrity of the neighbouring state, Afganisthan, for which "we have made ourselves responsible."

Conclusion :—

The Forward Policy, then, was of slow though steady, growth. It aimed at the defence of the north-west frontier against foreign aggression, as much as against the marauding proclivities of the turbulent tribes who inhabited the entire length of the north-west frontier. The first object was sought to be secured by the creation of a strong and unified Afganisthan with well-defined frontiers, the second by bringing the border tribes directly under the control of the Indian Government.

AN ANTI-BRITISH PLOT IN BIHAR IN 1845-46

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta

The battle of Plassey sowed the seeds of British political supremacy in India, and one century following it was marked by its rapid development. This naturally conducted India through manifold processes of transition, which, for diverse reasons, generated fumes of discontent leading occasionally to secret plots or open revolts against expanding British authority in this country.

In Bihar many with recollections of its historical importance in the past, nursed discontent due to the changes brought by the alien rule, and they often sought to assail its authority either by organising movements against it, even before the revolt of 1857-59, within the province or by sympathatic participation with those that originated in other parts of the country. A British military officer, with several years' experience of Indian affairs, wrote in 1857: "From the days of Kashim Ali Khan (Mir Qasim) Patna had always been a rebellious city"[2] The insurrection of Raja Chait Singh of Banaras[3] had repercussions on the contiguous province of Bihar. Some of the Zamindars here were his supporters and rose against the Company. On the 29th August, 1781, Mr. Crome, the Collector of Saran, wrote to Mr. Ross,[4] Revenue Chief at Patna. "Reza Cooly Cawn, formerly the Amil of Sasaram, is at this time with Raja Cheyt

1. Ibid., p. 752.
2. The Mutiny of the Bengal Army, *An Historical Narrative (1857)*, p. 174.
3. Exact nature of this insurrection and its influence deserve to be critically studied.
4. On the death of Mr. Matwell, Mr. Ross took charge of the office of Revenue Chief on the 20th August, 1780, which he held till the 11th of October, when he was relieved by Mr. Brooke.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Singh. Many of the inhabitants of that district, and probably the Oojains, a tribe of Rajpoots, are sincerely attached to him. Petambar Singh of the family of the Ticcari Raja is most intimately connected with Cheyt Singh and his dependants are remarkably good soldiers. He has also a number of horsemen in his pay." It appears from a letter of Mr. Ross to Major Hardy, commanding the Patna Militia, dated the 6th October, 1781, that "One Fattah Shah was giving trouble in Saran at this period while several Zamindars and others in the jurisdiction of the Revenue Chief of Patna armed and clothed their dependants in the military of the Company.[1]

Narain Singh, Zamindar of Seres and Cotombah, also then resisted the march of the Company's troops near Ramnagar at the foot of the Sassaram hills[2] For this he was arrested and sent as a state prisoner to Dacca on the 5th March, 1786. Raja Akbar Ali Khan of Narhat and Samai also rose in insurrection against the Company at this time.

After the treaty of 21st January, 1798, between the English East India Company and Saadat Ali of Oudh by which the latter was recognised as the Nawab of Oudh, Wazir Ali, another claimant to the Masanad of Oudh, was sent to Banaras to live there as a pensioner. Discontented with this lot Wazzir Ali planned an all-India conspiracy[3] against the English and had some confederates in Bihar including Raja Mitrajit Singh of Tikari in the district of Gaya. In 1831-32 there was a formidable insurrection of the Coles in Chotanagpur.[4]

In fact, that was a strong undercurrent of popular discontent in Bihar against the English East India Company for various reasons. In 1845-46, when in the course of the First Anglo-Sikh War the English were faced with a grave situation due to stubborn and formidable resistance of the Sikh Army, and "all the resources of the Company's Government" were being drawn to the North-Western Frontier[5] there was a plan at Patna to assail and uproot their authority. Referring to it, a British military officer wrote in 1857: "Even so lately as 1846, its (Patna's) Mahomedan nobility had endeavoured to take advantage of our balanced fortunes on the banks of the Sutlej. They had then succeeded in corrupting some of the native officers and sepoys stationed at Dinapore"[6]

1. Hand, *Early English Administration of Bihar, pp. 9-10.*
2. Ibid, pp. 15-16.
3. I have given a detailed account of it in my paper on "*The Conspiracy of Wazir Ali,* published in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1937.*
4. There is a short account of this movement in Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India.* Vol. I, pp. 202-204 and another account in the *Calcutta Review. Vol, XLIX, No 97.*

   Recently I have discovered some original records containing plenty of additional information about it which are being utilised for the History of the Freedom Movement in India.
5. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War (1870), Vol. I, p. 6*
6. *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army, p. 114.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

William Tayler, Commissioner of the Patna Division[1] till the month of August 1857, writes[2]: "For some years past, this city (Patna) has been considered a very sink of disaffection and intrigue. In 1846, a dangerous plot was detected, in which many of the Mahomedans of Patna, and the neighbouring districts were concerned and in which attempts had been made to tamper with the Sepoys..... That the conspiracy of 1846, was but a branch of a more general plot is the opinion of many who are well acquainted with the country, and that the object of that conspiracy was the destruction of the English, the overthrow of the British Government and the reestablishment of a Mahomadan dynasty, is, I imagine beyond all doubt."

It is significant to note that Rajah Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur, the hero of the Bihar movement of 1857-59, was accused by the Company Government of being involved in this anti-British plot of 1845-46.[3] We get a strong corroborative evidence on this point to the following effect in a letter addressed by Ishree Prasad, a Deputy Magistrate at Patna, to the Commissioner of Patna, dated the 27th August, 1870: "In 1845 many Rajahs and Zamindars of Bihar Province having conspired had tried to tamper with Regiment No. 1 (under Major Rowcroft).....[4] Monshoee Rahut Alee was the principal person who managed through Sheikh Peer Bux, a Monshee of the Regiment and the Pundit of it, whose name I do not know, to plant Mutiny in the Regiment. The Regiment was promised six month's pay in advance and a day was fixed for the rising. A Havildar of the Regiment gave information to the Commanding Officer of the same. The Monshee and the Pandit of the Regiment were arrested and many letters from several Zamindars and influential men showing their connection with the conspiracy were found in their possession. The Pundit and the Monshee confessed. Monshee Rahut Ally and Khaja Hasan Ali Khan, an influential man....were arrested. The letters criminating Monshee Rahut Ali found then, still exist in the Patna Foujdaree

1. The districts comprising the division of Patna were six in number; viz :

Patna	Capital	Patna	Shahabad	Capital	Arrah
Behar	,,	Gaya	Tirhut	,,	Muzaffarpur
Saran	,,	Chapra	Champran	,,	Motihari.

These districts contained about 24000 square miles and had a population of upwards of five millions. The population of Patna was estimated at about 400,000 of whom about 1/4 were Mahomedans. Tayler, *'Our Crisis*, pp. 4-7.

2. Ibid, p. 5.
3. J. J. Hall, *Two months at Arrah, p. 58.*
4. Two other Regiments at Dinapore were also sought to be influenced but with no success. Kaye, *op. cit., Vol. I, p. 308.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

records.[1] The letters bearing the seal of Babu Kunwar Singh of Jagadeespore are available in the said records. The investigation went on for a long time and it ended thus in 1846. That the Monshee and the Pandit, notwithstanding their confession, did not identify Rahut Ally and Khaja Hasan Ali Khan and consequently they were released. Only the Monshee and the Pundit of the Regiment were imprisoned, and Maulvi Neaz Alee, the law officer of Patna, Burkut Alee, the Government pleader of the Civil Court, Patna, and Meer Bakar, Daroga of Kotgust, Patna, were dismissed....From a Robkaree existing in Foujdari records of Patna it appears that Khaja Hasan Ali Khan was released by the order of the Superintendent of Police contained in a letter No. 2046 dated the 27th October, 1846. It is worth notice that several Zamindars and influential persons were exposed in 1846. Though by their influence they carried off their days and succeeded to screen themselves, then, yet in 1857 all became known. For instance, Moulvie Alee Kureem was suspected in 1846, in 1857 he was declared an open rebel, though escaped under the amnesty. Baboo Kunwar Singh of Jagdeespore was accused in 1846. It is useless to say what happened to him in 1857. One Waris Ali Khan, a police Jamadar in Tirhut was suspected in 1846, and he was hanged in 1857."

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BEARING OF CRIMINAL TRIALS IN FRENCH INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mitra

The proceedings of the trial of 255 criminal cases during 1705-1811 by the Conseil Superieur and by military councils at Pondicherry have been preserved in the Archive of Pondicherry and students of history have been laid under great obligation to the late scholar E. Gaudary by the publication of a fairly exhaustive report of the above. A careful scrutiny

1. These could not be traced as yet.

*Shri F. Balkhi, a Research Assistant of mine, has supplied to me the following information about Munshi Rehat Ali and Hassan Ali khan :—

(1) Munshi Rahat Ali was an influential Zamindar of Neora village. He was a relation of Sir Ali Imam, and was the grand father of M. Zamuddin, Principal of the Patna Law College (1921). He had built a tower in which holes had been made for firing guns. It still exists and is visible from the Neora Rly. Station.

(2) Hasan Ali Khan was the grand-father of Justice Khaja Md. Noor. The Govt. had somehow learnt that he was hatching a conspiracy for the overthrow of the British Rule. A warrant was issued for his arrest, but he personally appeared before the Magistrate before the warrant was executed, and satisfied the officer that he was not dislo- The warrant was therefore cancelled.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of these judicial records sheds revealing light on crime and punishment during this epoch and brings into relief a few episodes of political history as well.

The administration of criminal justice was; as was usual for that age, marked with extreme severity. Torture was used to extort confession and offenders were punished with flogging, branding with hot iron, mutilation of limbs or with perpetual transportation to the Isle of Bourbon and the Isle of France where the French plantations were worked by the forced labour of these coloured convicts. The French criminal was, in similar circumstances, drafted as a galley-slave in the Royal vessels. Capital sentence took the form of hanging by a post or by the gibbet in the market or some public place or at the place of occurrence, of the crime with the posthumous disgrace of the exposure of the dead body for a period of time. Murder was punished by amputation of limbs or flogging before hanging (case No. 82) or by crushing of limbs under the wheel (case 66) or by burning the unfortunate victim alive and then scattering his desecrated ashes to the winds (case No. 209). Capital sentence could be commuted to one of transportation for life on ground of tender age of the criminal (case 81) or on political considerations. The execution of death sentence in the case of two Muhammedan slaves who in 1774 had combined to murder their master residing at Pondicherry by poisoning was postponed till its final confirmation by Haider Ali Khan, because the persons concerned in this trial were the subjects of the Indian potentate. The court, on this occasion, observed, "Haider Ali Khan is one of those with whom we have the strongest interest in maintaining amity. We should therefore take care to avoid doing anything which may alter his sentiments towards us" (case 209). The law however discriminated between intentional murder and involumtary homicide (cases 98, 221) or death due to a simple act of imprudence (case 124), and persons charged with such offences were more lightly dealt with or absolutely acquitted at the discretion of the court.

Theft covers a large part of the cases under review and was during the first half of the 18th century considered a capital offence which could, under special circumstances, be reduced to flogging and perpetual banishment to the Isle of France (cases 11,76). In 1729 a Paria convert to Christianity was hanged (case 21). No racial discrimination was allowed and in 1729 a Frenchman was hanged in Mahe for larceny while his accomplice, another Frenchman, was branded and expelled from French territory (case No. 24). It may not be without significance that there is no case on record of the extreme penalty of the law being inflicted for

La criminalise dant les comptoirs francais de l' Inde au 18 eme siecle
E. Gaudart

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

theft since 1747 (case No. 117). The elevation of public conscience, rather than any reform of the code seems to have been responsible for this lenience, because in many subsequent trials e.g. in 1774 and 1776 the public prosecutor pleaded in vain for death sentence for the accused (cases 203, 212). But from 1747 A. D. forward the offenders were usually punished with branding and rigorous imprisonment up to 5 years. Theft in the church or removal of ecclesiastical belongings constituted sacrilege which merited more deterrent punishment. Thus, in 1788 (case No. 223), two French soldiers were accused of stealing a few vessels of the church of Foreign Missions in Pondicherry and were flogged, branded with red-hot iron and condemned to slavery in the royal galleys, though from 1785 onwards we have many records of theft of secular property being dealt with by imprisonment for 2 to 5 years (cases No. 220, 239, 249, 250, 252). The French administration was chary of inflicting the death sentence on Brahmins and members of similar higher castes. In 1733 (case 46) the guilt of a thief belonging to the respectable Vellada caste was clearly established and he was found, beside to have a long record of similar crimes in the past. The court found itself extremely embarassed by the inevitable prospect of death sentence and its likely consequence on Hindu sentiment when it had a good riddance by abandoning the prosecution altogether at the request of the holy Imam Saheb. In 1729 (case No.25) a Brahmin was proved guilty of repeated forging of 'hundis' or bills of exchange which rendered his execution a certainty. But Lenoir, the Governor, and the Superior Council avoided this odium by responding to the appeal of the Hindus and handing over the Brahmin to be tried by the chiefs of his caste whose goodwill and gratitude he thus wanted to secure. The Brahmins in this instance decreed the excommunication of the accused and the confiscation of his property in the interest of the French Company. In 1743 (case 93) a Brahmin was condemned to being whipped and branded for misappropriation of funds of the Company but there is no entry in the records relative to the execution of the sentence. Probably he was let off on ground of his high caste. The chiefs of the castes or 'Mahantars' were consulted by the court in matters relating to their society and they were held responsible for an indemnity of 20,000 'pagodes' for losses sustained during a riot caused on the occasion of the auction of the property of a deceased Hindu debtor of Pondicherry in 1791 (case No. 234).

It is amusing to learn that the Indian employees of the court occasionally had recourse to the soothsayer in discovering the thief. In 1727, the police arrested two persons at Chandernagore in connection with the theft of a purse of Rs. 760/-from the house of a Frenchman entirely on the divination of a soothsayer who was credited with a similar successful performance in a case of burglary in the house of Dewan Indranarayan (cases

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

10 and 26). In 1792 a constable in Pondicherry also confessed having previously traced out a thief by the indication of a soothsayer (case 233).

Suicide provoked the highest contempt of society and was punished with even greater severity than murder. In 1745 (case 103) the dead body of a person who had committed suicide was ordered to be dragged by its feet attached to a cart and its face on earth, up to the main market and there the cadavre was to be hung by the legs and then cast into the unhallowed dumping ground. Similar case records show this to have been the customary punishment for suicide. An exemption was very rarely accorded from this desecration e.g. to Fumeron the Chief of Police in Pondicherry (who suicided in 1795) in view of his high rank and meritorious past services (case 208, 243).

Duelling among Frenchman was an offence which was condoned by the collusive indulgence of society even though it was strictly prohibited by law. The depraved codes of honour of the epoch often rendered it it a cloak for wanton and unprovoked assault. Of 15 cases of duelling in Chandernagore and Pondicherry, almost all the offenders escaped. In 13 cases, the absent offenders were ordered to be executed in effigy, while in the two remaining instances a compromise was possible because the attacks had not proved fatal.

Strangely enough, we have record of a solitary case of adultery where the unfaithful wife was ordered in 1727 to be whipped at 3 public places in Chandernagore and to be expelled from the town (case 7).

Slavery was widely prevalent and besides legal slavery produced by Judicial condemnation to penal servitude in the Isles of Bourbon and France, there existed slave markets with depots and recruitment agencies which even the employees of the French Company were permitted to maintain. Interesting information was furnished in course of prosecution of M. Judd, a clerk of the French Company in Pondicherry on a charge of illegal detention of persons as slaves for being shipped off to the above-mentioned plantations. His agents scoured the region of Karikal and Tanquebar. Arcot was the principal seat of this nefarious trade and the Muhammedan nobles of the city with their ample household were his worthy customers. Credulous village women were seduced by various hoaxes and assurances of better living conditions in the houses of Europeans, while men were kidnapped under the influence of narcotics administered with the betel-leaf, (cases 91, 140). In this instance an inventory was made of the contents of Judd's depot and 17 out of 31 inmates were liberated in default of due documents or because some of their captives were of the higher castes who could not be enslaved according to law. In 1792 (case 240) a French captain of ship touched at Biblipatnam where he easily exchanged his cargo of rice for 180 Telinga slaves and changing

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

his original destination for Yanaon, he slipped off to Peder, a post on the Malaya coast. It may be incidentally observed that there he was laid upon by the friendly pretensions of a renegade Frenchman, né Laurent Severin, and renamed Abdulla, who was in the confidence of the local prince. The ship was ruthlessly plundered and the captain was brutally murdered by Abdulla.

The case records are not entirely devoid of political interest. A very lengthy dossier (No. 123) is occupied with the prosecution of Mahe de Laville bague and Desjardins, who, in complicity with Mahe de Labourdonnais, were charged with misappropriation of funds and goods belonging to the English East India Co. of Madras. In the opinion of Gaudart, these documents "confirm the painful impression that the capture of Madras was treated as a commercial operation for the maximum personal advantage of Labourdonnais". A brief account of the affairs of the Ostend Company in India is obtained from a suit filed by the son of Francois Joseph de Schonamille, the last chief of the Indian Ostend Co. against certain attendants of his father during his father's last fatal voyage. The company was founded in 1714 at Bankibazar on the Hughly near Chinsura. Exposed to the hostility of the English and the Dutch, the Company languished. Its prospect improved in 1746 when it managed to secure the favours of Dupleix at Chandernagore and this friendly alliance was strengthened by the marriage of a son of Schonamille with a stepdaughter of Dupleix. The Company wound up its affairs on 3 February 1744 and Schonamille left Bankibazar with all his belongings on 4 vessels and was accompanied by 400 European soldiers. Reaching Siriam in Burma he failed to obtain the permission of the king of Pegu to build a factory there and thereupon he committed an act of grave indiscretion. He set fire to the adjacent villages and was in consequence assailed upon and massacred with his 100 followers by the infuriated populace. His belongings were carried to Merguy by the captain of one of the four vessels and were plundered. The state of terror that was brought about in Pondicherry during the later stage of its seige in 1760, as a result of the high-handedness of Lally and his officers is reflected in a case (No, 162) where the Superior Council regretfully confessed that it was compelled to tolerate their excesses even up to crimes. A local wit gave vent to this popular resentment by a splash of humour not unbecoming the Punch in widely scattered anonymous posters announcing, "Ladies and Gentlemen are requested to help with their charities M. de Lally who is going to Mecca on pilgrimage for the remission of his numerous sins. If you have any old diamond or vessels or similar knick-knacks, you can make a gift of the same to him for which Mahomet will recompense you in paradise!- signed Gadeville (case 160). This case for libellous attack could not be pursued as the authorship was not traced out.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NIZAM-TIPU RELATIONS DURING 1787-1789

Shri B. Sheik Ali

The relations of Tipu-Sultan with the Nizam of Hyderabad had improved to an unprecedented degree during the two years just preceding the Confederacy of 1790 against Tipu. Until that coalition was concluded, it was not sure whether the Nizam would join the English or Tipu. Cornwallis had offended the Nizam by demanding the surrender of the Guntur Circar, the territory lying on the Eastern coast which was of immense importance both to the Nizam and the Company. To the Nizam, it was his sole outlet to the sea coast and to Company, it linked Madras with Northern Circars. The treacherous way in which Cornwallis made his sudden demand alarmed the Nizam who was confronted with the threat of actual invasion of his country within fourteen days if he did not comply with the English demand.[1] Colonel Edgerton was already present with a detachment on the boundaries of the Nizam which compelled him to surrender Guntur. Such an acquisition confirmed the misgivings of the Indian princes against the English and dispelled the notion that Cornwallis followed a peaceful and enlightened policy. Even a section of the English opinion was against this aggression which felt that it would ultimately antagonise all princes of India against them. Col. Read says, "I believe it is a received opinion among the princes of India that we have desire to enfeeble every power in connection with us and consequently every one who is tenacious of his dependency is wary in trusting to our support".[2] The aggressive policy of Cornwallis aliented the Nizam and prompted him to develop friendly relations with Tipu.

There were other factors which improved Tipu-Nizam relations. The Nizam was highly displeased with the Marathas soon after the Nizam-Maratha war against Mysore. He was not treated with justice and equality in the negotiations for peace and even his name was omitted in the first draft of the Treaty. He was practically isolated at this period from every side and was very bitter with all the three of his neighbours. He proposed to the French a defensive alliance which would protect him from the ambition of his neighbours.[3] The French tried to pacify and reconcile him with Tipu. They advised him to "cultivate and cement an alliance with Tipu Sultan whom they called as a firm friend and a dangerous enemy. The Nizam felt that as a measure of expediency, it was better

1. Cleig : Life of Thomas Munro. Vol. I, p. 70.
2. Mackenzie Mss. Vol. 46. p. 56.
3. Pondy MSS Dated Sept. 4, 1788.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to be friendly with Tipu.[1] He expressed his willingness to let the French mediate on his behalf with Tipu and iron out his difference with him.[2] These events resulted in unexpected cordiality and friendship between Tipu and the Nizam.[3] Such was the intimacy that the English suspected a triple alliance of the Nizam, the French and Tipu.[4]

The conciliatory policy of Tipu-Sultan in conceding liberal terms to the Nizam in the preceding war encouraged him to propose an alliance with Tipu. In August 1787 he engaged Imtiaz-ud-Dalah, his brother-in-law, and Shams-ul-Umra, the Commander of his household troops to sound Tipu's disposition for an alliance. Tipu was willing for such a proposal which resulted in the dispatch of two ambassadors, Hafiz-Farid-ud-deen and Bahadur Khan, from Hyderabad to Seringapatam. They were charged with the secret task of negotiating a treaty for the Nizam. They left Hyderabad in October 1787 and reached Tipu's capital in November 1787.[5] Tipu responded very favourably to the proposals of the Nizam and wrote to him that at no time either he or his father had ever entertained any hostile design against him. He reminded the period of their co-operation in the Second Mysore War which forced the English not to press their demand for the surrender of Guntur. Though the relations in the meanwhile had been strained owing to the participation of the Nizam with the Marathas in a war against Mysore, Tipu wrote that he was ready to forget the past and that, "I am desirous of entering into a firm alliance with your Highness and to show how earnest I am in it, request you will appoint a time and place for a personal conference that all matters relating to our respective interests may be taken into consideration and a Treaty concluded for our mutual advantages"[6]

Tipu would go a step further and as a proof of his earnest cooperation, he would relinquish the territories previously acquired by Mysore.[7] But he proposed a matrimonial alliance also which would further strengthen the basis of a political confederacy. It was proposed that the daughter of the Nizam should be married to the son of Tipu. Col. Read says that Tipu himself desired to marry the Nizam's daughter but it is incorect.[8] It is not very definite whether the daughter or the niece of the Nizam (Imtiaz-ud-daulah's daughter) was intended for the marriage. Even

1. See. Proc. Const. dated Oct. 10, 1787.
2. Poona Residency Records Vol. III, No. 12,
3. Mly. Const. Dated. Decr. 20, 1787.
4. Ibid. Dec. 20, 1787.
5. Mackinzie Mss. No. 46. p. 53-54.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid. pp. 55.
8. Ibid. p. 53

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Kirmani is silent on this point and speaks only 'of a matrimonial alliance.'[1] Col. Read says that the ambassadors on their return from Seringapatam took a casket of jewels for the bride, the daughter of the Nizam.[2] The relations seemed so far improved that Tipu ordered his Revenue Department to prepare a statement of the territories that were conquered from the Nizam. But the Nizam was not sincere in his negotiations with Tipu and replied vaguely to his proposals. The possibility of an active alliance was reduced to a pious hope.

With the acquisition of Guntur by the English, the Nizam was roused to a sense of danger and revived his overtures again with Tipu. He despatched his agents Hafiz Farid-ud-deen and Ramachandra to Tipu in 1788 who was encamped at that time near Coimbatore. The Nizam sought Tipu's help, and appealing to his religious sentiments, he urged that they should forget the differences and become friends. He sent a copy of Quran. He depicted the English to be the common enemy of both and expressed the fact that the Treaty of 1768 had not merely deprived the Nizam of Guntur but envisaged hostile designs on Tipu's country as well.[3] According to that Treaty the Nizam was obliged to join the English in compelling Tipu to surrender the Carnatic Balaghaut.[4]

Tipu's response was again favourable. He was willing to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the Nizam. He revived the proposal of matrimonial connection between the two powers which Tipu regarded to be politically very significant as it would end old feuds. In the middle of September, Tipu held a conference with Hafiz-ud-deen at Coimbatore when the Maratha Vakil Shevaji Rao was also present. He proposed four terms, firstly the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance; Secondly Nizam's cooperation with Tipu against the English, thirdly cession of Guntur to Tipu in return for the usual rent and lastly a matrimonial connection between Tipu's son and the Nizam's daughter. After this conference, along with the Nizam's envoy, Tipu sent his own vakils, Qutubuddeen Khan and Ali Raza Khan to Hyderabad to finalise the proposals.[5]

Failure of the talks:—

But these proposals were destined to fail. The Nizam was playing a double game. At the same time ,he despatchedd agents to Seringapatam, he had sent an envoy, Mir Abul Qasim, popularly known as Mr. Alam, to Calcutta, ostensibly to settle some accounts of the tribute with

1. Kirmani. p. 149.
2. Mackenzie. Mss p. 55. Vol. 46
3. Aitchison Vol. IX. p. 32-33.
4. Ibid, p. 25.
5. Mackenzie Mss. p. 86. Vol. 46

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Company but in reality to urge Cornwallis to fulfil the sixth article of the Treaty of 1768 by which the Nizam was entitled to obtain from the English two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of cannon manned by Europeans. This was directly intended against Tipu. The presence of the English Resident also made the Nizam lukewarm against Tipu. The subtle diplomacy of Cornwallis and the duplicity of the Nizam destroyed the possibility of Nizam Tipu rapprochement. Tipu's ambassadors were suspected and they were kept under guard.[1] The matrimonial connection was turned down on the ground that Tipu was the son of Hyder Nayak, "a soldeir of fortune of the lowest birth." He thought it derogatory and disgraceful to have connections with a family of upstarts. Tipu resented bitterly the vain and insulting attitude of the Nizam which prevented the conclusion of an alliance between two great states in the south of India.

From the Persian records in the National Archives, it would appear that when the Nizam first sent Hafiz Farid-ud-deen to Tipu, he himself proposed the marriage of his son with Tipu's daughter but Tipu did not agree.[2] He proposed on the other hand the marriage of his son with the Nizam's dauhter when Farid-ud-deen was deputed a second time to Tipu Sultan, he proposed at the instance of the Nizam reciprocal marriages between the families.[3] These records say that Tipu rejected the proposal this time as the Nizam was busy negotiating an offensive alliance with the English through Mir Alam at Calcutta. The Nizam did not like to antagonize Tipu until his treaty with the English was finalised. Therefore he demanded as a price of his alliance with Tipu the payment of arrears at eight lakhs of rupees per year which Hyder Ali had promised in the Treaty of 1766.[4] He knew what the reaction of such proposal would be, but he had nothing to fear as Cornwallis was more anxious than he to send him military aid.

Thus the negotiations completely failed apparently on the sentimental ground that the Nizam was scornful for a marriage connestion with Tipu's family. But there were other reasons as well. Tipu would not have taken very seriously the failure of marriage proposals and the Nizam would not have been imprudent to make the birth of Tipu a decisive factor for the alliance. The plain fact is that the Nizam did not really desire an alliance with Tipu. He was simply dodging the English to exact better terms from them. Moreover, he was surrounded at this time by two rival groups of advisers in his court, one of Imtiaz-ud-daulah and Shams-ul-Umara, who were the partisans of Tipu and the other of Mushir-ul-Mulk, the Prime

1. Sec. Proc. March 3, 1790.
2. Calender of Persian Correspondenec., No. 251., Vo. VIII.
3. Ibid. No. 896.
4. Political Proceedings March 3, 1790.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Minister and Mir Alam, the supporters of the English. The Anglophil party was more powerful and intriguing than the other which successfully opposed the matrimonial connection with Tipu. Tipu's Vakils were outwitted by the superior British diplomacy which roused territorial ambition in the Nizam at the expense of Tipu. The Mysorean Vakils could not successfully convince the Nizam that it would be in his interests in the long run to join Tipu. The English Resident, Kennaway, by exciting the jealousy of the Nizam against Tipu, by dangling before him the prospects of territorial acquisitions and by aligning with the court clique against Tipu, severed all Mysore-Hyderabad relations. Tipu's anxiety for an alliance was misrepresented as fight for personal aggrandisement. The Nizam joined the English against Tipu for his offence of championing the national cause.

MINT IN THE KINGDOM OF THE NAGPUR BHONSLAS

Dr. R. M. Sinha

Mints existed in the Bhonsla Raj at the following places:—

1. Chanda, 2. Hinganghat, 3. Sohagpur, 4. Bori Pauni.

The Chanda mint was established "a very long time ago and by many it is said to have been coeval with the Nagpur city mint." It was abolished in 1820.[1] The mint at Hinganghat was established by Venkoji alias Nana Sahib, brother of Raghuji, II "about 18 years ago." i.e. about 1805. It was closed by Raghuji II, after "a year or two" of its establishment and was later revived by Appa Sahib "during the short time he was on the Masnad."[2]

The mint at Sohagpur was established by Siddik Ali Khan in 1217 Fuslee i.e. 1807 A.D. Siddik Ali Khan claimed that 13 lacs of rupees were coined at this mint with only 8½ ruttis of alloy.[3]

At Bori Pauni, the mint was established by a Sonar "about 40 years ago" i.e. 1783 "by permission of Dewajee Pandit commonly known as Chor Ghourewalla." Later on it was suppressed by the Sarkar or Government.[4]

1. G. P. Civil Secretariat (Bundle correspondence) Case file No. 1 of 1823 (Finance Department.) This file contains a long and detailed account of Mint at Nagpur in the form of questions and answers. There are 30 questions answered on almost every aspect of the working of the Mint, by Captain Gordon, Assistant to the Nagpur Resident. Reference to number of questions will be cited in support of statements made in course of this chapter.
2. Ibid
3. Ibid
4. Ibid

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

History of the Mint in Nagpur territories—

"The mint is said to have been established at Nagpur 170 years ago." Before this period, cowries and pieces of pure silver were circulated instead of regular coins. It is reported that on the Emperor of Delhi demanding a payment in money from Chand Sultan, son of Bakht Buland, the Raja pleaded his inability from the want of a mint to furnish it. On this the Emperor Muhamad Shah authorised the establishment of one and the name of Muhammad Shah was impressed on the coinage of the mint during the continuance of the Gond dynasty.

The rupees coined first by Chand Sultan weighed 86 ruttis of which there were four rattis of alloy and 82 of pure silver. On his country being conquered by Raghuji, the name of Ahmad Shah was impressed on the coinage and the quality of alloy in each rupee was increased by one ratti, the weight of the rupee remaining as before 86 rattis.[1]

Janoji decreased the weight of the rupee to 85 rattis and increased the quality of alloy by one ratti more, so that it now consisted of 79 rattis of pure silver and 6 rattis of alloy. Mudhoji continued the currency as above for some years, and afterwards altered it, making the weight of the rupee 83½ rattis and containing 76½ rattis of pure silver with 7 rattis of alloy.[2]

In the reign of Raghuji, the weight of the rupee was further reduced by ½ a ratti—thus making it 83 rattis. For sometimes, he preserved the quantity of alloy at 7 rattis but subsequently increased it, first to 8 rattis and then to 9 rattis.[3]

Assays of the coin were first introduced in the year 1213 Fuslee i.e. 1803 A.D by a Sonar named Peareylal. It was formerly customary to judge of the quantity of silver by boring a hole in it and subject it to the action of fire. Appa Sahib established the rates prevalent in 1823 of 11 rattis of alloy and 72 rattis of pure silver.[4]

Management of the Mint :—

The mint was under the direct control of the Government,[5] though in very exceptional cases and by the patronage of high authorities it might be farmed out to a contractor. In 1226 Fuslee i.e. 1816 A.D. the mint was for the first time farmed out to a contractor, by name Agnoolala. His contract began in the middle of the year 1226 Fasli. Sheoram Sonar obtained the mint in contract through Man Bhatt's influence with Appa Sahib. Sheoram Sonar likewise farmed it in 1228 Fasli; since then the

1. Ibid. Question No. 22.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. Question No. 7.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

mint was not farmed.[1] Leaving out these instances, the mint of Nagpur State was a Government monopoly.

Farming of the Mint.

Even when it was farmed out to a contractor, the Government appointed a Kamavisdar, a Potdar and a couple of Baridars "to superintend assays and keep accounts of the coinage" at the mint.[2]

The contractor engaged to pay to the Government a fixed annual amount of money for the right to manage the mint. "Agnoolala agreed to pay 31000 rupees for the mint but from this sum the expenses of the Mint were to be deducted." Raghuji II died soon after and Nago Pandit the Minister of Appa Sahib, insisted upon the contractor's returning the amount of 20000 rupees which was advanced to him by the late ruler. The contractor repaid the amount but suffered a great loss in the bargain. This was brought to the notice of Appa Aahib who, on the recommendation of Man Bhatt, gave the Mint to Sheoram Sonar "with permission to augment the alloy to 11 rattis, for 24000 rupees."[3]

Working of the Mint.

It was open to the merchants wishing to have bullion coined to bring it to the mint where they remained till it was converted into rupees. They paid to the government, duties which included the expense of labour and carried away the produce of their bullion in rupees.

The expenses of coining rupees as they stood in 1823 were one half of a rupee per cent and the profit to the govenment came to one rupee per cent.[4]

The items of expenditure per 1000 rupees were as under:—[5]

	Rs. as p
1. For melting and cleansing silver per 1000 rupees	0 –5–4
2. For cutting and shaping the rupees	2 –8–0
3. For impressing the sicca or dye	o –5–4
4. Charcoals, lead and crucibles, etc.	1–13–4
Total expenses for 1000 rupees, 8 annas per cent	5 –0–0

Besides the above the government incurred expenses on the pay of the assayer, Kamavisdar, Karkoon, Harkaras, Baridar, Komtees, Masalchi, Deopuja, etc. These officers were paid monthly salaries.[6]

1. Ibid. Question No. 5.
2. Ibid. Question No. 6.
3. Ibid. Question No. 6.
4. Ibid. Question No. 10.
5. Ibid. Question No. 11.
6. Ibid. Question No. 12.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Process of coining:—

When the bullion was brought to the mint, the government assayer and the merchant jointly estimated its quality. If superior to the Nagpur rupees, it became necessary to add alloy and if it was of a worse quality it was necessary to add silver of a better quality so that when both were melted the produce was of the quality of the Nagpur rupee. Mixing the metal before melting, so that the produce may turn out as desired, was an operation of great nicety because if it "should turn out more or less valuable, it must be remelted at the expense mentioned above of 5 annas 4 pies per 1000 rupees." The people, however, who conducted this process were able to judge, from experience, so exactly of the different quantities of silver mixed, that it was not necessary to melt a second time. When the silver was melted a little it was poured out and the weight of a rupee was assayed. During this process the bullion was kept in a state of fusion, in case it should require a slight alteration for the better or worse. If the alteration was considerable, it generally became necessary to allow it to cool and to remelt it afterwards as by keeping the bullion long in a state of fusion of it became oxydised. The expense of a second melting when necessary was conducted at the charge of the Government.

When the silver melted was found by assay to be of the requisite quality, it was cast into lugrees or Ingots about six or seven inches long and about an inch in circumference but of a flattened shape. Those lugrees were then weighed and given to the Sonars to make into rupees.

Before this the Jamadar of the Mint guard, without whose attendence bullion was not allowed to be melted, took up any lugree he pleased, or perhaps two, and having had a couple of pieces of the weight of a rupee each taken off sent them by the Havaldar of his guard to the officer appointed to superintend assays.

If that officer pronounced the silver of the proper quality, the lugrees were then delivered as above to the Sonars, but was otherwise remelted. The Sonars cut the lugrees and shaped the pieces like rupees. In doing so, it was necessary to heat the silver to render it more malleable but never to melt it. The Sonars were required to deliver back the same weight of silver as they had received, but as small pieces were necessarily broken or filed off, the weight of one per cent was taken from them in small bite and fillings, and they were required to deliver 99 per cent of what they had received. On the filling being again melted which became necessary in two or three months from the amount collected, there was a loss sustained by the Government of 1 per cent. The unstamped rupees delivered by the Sonars were then put in a large brass pot and boiled with tamarind juice to clean them. When they were thus cleaned, they were delivered to the stamper who impressed Nagpur dye on them and they were ready for circulation.[1]

1. Ibid. Question No. 13.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Metals coined.

Generally, silver and copper were coined in the Mint,[1] but in 1218 Fasli i.e. 1808 A.D. "Raja Raghuji conceived a design of coining gold mohurs." Eight hundred mohurs were coined but "they were, however, never circulated but used in strings as ornaments for horse's necks."[2]

Nagpur Rupees.

We have seen the proportion of alloy to silver in the making of the Nagpur rupee in the short reign of Appa Sahib and comparing it with the superior currency of former reigns it is not difficult to account for the difference which may be attributed to the deterioration of the economic condition of the Nagpur and the policy of the Government to extract as much out of the people as possible.

But apart from the Nagpur Rupees, there were coins of other variety circulating in the country. They were the Arcot rupees, Delhi Surti rupees, Ujjain rupees, Jeypore rupees, Benares rupees, Farrukhabad rupees, Murshidabad rupees and Chandore rupees. They were sold in Nagpur as follows:—[3]

Arcot rupees	at a premium of	11	per	cent.	
Delhi Surti rupees	,,	,,	13	,,	,,
Ujjain	,,	,,	11	,,	,,
Jeypore	,,	,,	11	,,	,,
Benares	,,	,,	17	,,	,,
Farrukhabad	,,	,,	10	,,	,,
Murhidabad	,,	,,	13	,,	,,
Chandore	,,	,,	15	,,	,,

Besides these, there were rupees of Jabalpur and Chanda mints which "if not broken or cut" circulated "at or nearly at par" with Nagpur rupees.[4]

Quantity of Nagpur rupees in circulation.

It is very difficult to give an accurate estimate of the number of Nagpur rupees that were in circulation in the Nagpur kingdom but we find on record that "from the year 1185 Fasli (1775 A.D.) to the present period (i.e. the coming of the British in 1813) 353,62,724 rupees have been coined at the Nagpur mint."[5] Of this number, almost all "those containing 8 rattis of alloy and under have disappeared from circulation." Though it was difficult to ascertain the actual amount of circulating coins, "it is supposed by Sahookars and others likely to judge not to exceed at the

1. Ibid. Question No. 2.
2. Ibid. Question No. 3.
3. Ibid. Question No. 30.
4. Ibid. Question No. 30.
5. Ibid. Question No. 29.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

utmost one crore of rupees." The figure of one crore was computed by adding up the amount of annual revenue which was not more than 70 lacs before the war of 1818 and 30 lacs likely to be in circulation in trade. The proportion in which the different rupees of the Nagpur and other mints of the Bhonslas kingdom circulated was according to a rough estimate, indicated as under by the Sahookars ;—[1]

1.	Chanda mint	25 per cent
2.	Before Sheoram Sonar obtained contract of the Nagpur Mint in 1817.	35 ,,
3.	Sheoram's coinage of Nagpur mint	20 ,,
4.	Coin of Nagpur mint since Sheoram's time	15 ,,
5.	Jabalpur coinage	5 ,,

As mentioned above, the proportion of alloy went up to 11 rattis since Sheoram took over the mint in 1818-1819.

Copper coins.

The mint for copper coinage was first established at Nagpur in 1220 Fasli i.e. 1810 A.D. The pice current in the Nagpur territories before this period was all made in Berar. They were manufactured at Dharwa weighing 18 mashas, at Akot weighing 14, at Ellichpur and Amraoti weighing 20 and at Betul weighing 12 mashas. They were besides made at many other places in Berar and of different weights.[2]

"Rabra Deshmukh, brother of Gumbherji Deshmukh, first persuaded Raghoji (II) to establish a pice mint." Pice made at this mint weighed 19 mashas. In view of this, "each and all the Berar pice found in the country were called in." The mint was managed as a Government department i.e. on the amani system, and a duty of 2 pice was levied on every hundred manufactured, and subsequently in the same year i.e. approximately 1810-11 this duty was increased to 5 per cent.

In 1225 Fasli i.e. 1815 A.D. the old pice each weighing 19 Mashas were called in and the new weighing 15 mashas each were manufactured. Appa Sahib further reduced the weight of copper pice in 1227 Fasli i.e. 1817 and made it 12 mashas each. The duty of 5 percent was, however, continued as before. The pice sold at the rate of 32 to a rupee.[3] But the price of the copper coin was subject to change, to the disadvantage of the common people. The pice sarafs cornered large amounts of pice and charged extra rates from petty traders when the latter wanted to convert coppor coin into silver. Thus the rate of depreciation reached a

1. Ibid. Question No. 29.
2. Ibid. Question No. 16.
3. Ibid. Question No. 16.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

stage when 44 or 45 pice were required to buy a rupee. We find in the reign of Raghuji I the sarafs were held responsible for the depreciation of copper coinage.[1] Raghuji II used to check the depreciation in the value of pice by which he at times sustained great loss. He used to have the whole amount of circulating copper bought up at the market rate and sold them at whatever rate he pleased. This must have put the common people to great disadvantage. The reform of copper coinage was one of the foremost measures which engaged the attention of the British during the period of the Raja's minority when they ruled the state on his behalf.[2]

Price of metals and from where it came.

The price of best gold was never below 17 rupees per tola and during the last two decades never rose above 20 rupees. Copper varied from 16 rupees to 20 rupees per maund. A tola of the best quality of silver sold at one rupee five annas and four pies. The prices of these metals were subject to fluctuation. Silver was considered the standard of the value of other metals.[3]

Bullion (silver) could be purchased, in the bulk, from Bombay. At Nagpur ten or twelve thousand worth only could be readily purchased.[4]

THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE FRENCH IN INDIA

Shri Ambika Sharma

India became a cockpit of the Anglo-French struggle in the middle of the 18th century when the two giants decided to bestride this corner of the world, in course of their worldwide hunt for empire. The wolves fought pitched battles for the prize of India, with the true wolfish spirit, yet indecisively, till Vondivas (1759) murmured its decision against the French. The seven years war (1756-63) seemed to poison the French position in India while the position of the English bolstered up. But it was by no means a Waterloo of the French ambitions in India and the French continued to remain a sore spot of the English empire, which bled on all pensive moments. They controlled the coast settlements like Pondicherry, Mahe, & such bases in Indian waters as Mauritius & Bourbone Islands in a period when naval superiority was the life blood of such a dis-

1. C. P. Civil Secretariat (Bundle Correspondence) Case file No. 1 of 1823—Finance Department.
2. Ibid.
3. Mint Question No. 16.
4. „ „ „ 20.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tant empire.[1] They possessed Chandernagore in the heart of the British Presidency of Bengal & their soldiers served under different native Sovereigns and could be arrayed against the British at any time. The French had kept their diplomatic wire with native powers alive & their agents were posted in native courts, who were always ready to fan anti-British sentiments.[2] The gaining influence of the British was looked by native powers with awe & stupefication and they werer eady to efface the growing ulcer. All these forces could be set against the English like Torpeodoes and the French were ready to act as the co-ordination ring. Thus the French menace lay suspended like the sword of Damocles at the head of the English in India. Yet the French cat dared not pounce upon the British mongoose until the latter got its feat entangled and teeth soured in a distant engagement in another corner of the world. Their opportunity came when the English were suffering worst lashes at the hands of the colonists of the New world. The period 1774-82 covered a dark page of the British colonial history while the French were delighted as the idea of English defeat on all sides. Soon the American Cyclone reached India via Eurupe & shook the Citadel of the English Position. The French chafing with a spirit of revanche took this opportunity as godsend. A French Minister in a secret state-paper said. "Providence hath marked out that moment for the humiliation of England'[3] There was much dried powder in India which could be used against the English. The influential native powers were already resentful of the British somehow or other. The French now supplied the incentive and direction. Anti-British manoeuvers began to radiate from French sources, which seemed to overwhelm the English in India. The French had ample scope to fish in the troubled water specially when anti-British Nana Phadanvis led the Maratha camp and Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore had not forgotten the deception of the English in 1769.[4]

The whole French machinery was switched into action. As early as May 10, 1777, they sent St. Lubin to Poona, to propose an alliance, the terms of which included the cession of the port Chowl on the west coast.[5] His overtures were encouraged by the Poona Govt. In the same year Warren Hastings, the English Governor-General, of Bengal, received news from Paris that a full scale preparation for the total overthrow of the English interests in India has been planned, by Monsieure Sartinna, which was to be consummated through the help of the native powers courted into

1. Sir Arthur Lyall—The Rise and Expansion of the British dominions in India, p. 203
2. Cambridge History of India, vol. V, p. 323
3. Lyall—p. 192
4. Cambridge History, vol. V, p. 282
5. Forrest—Selection of Secret State papers, vol. II, p. 592

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

an anti-British alliance.[1] The French manoeuvers seemed to get swift success, soon they began to call the port of Chowl their own[2] and a gentleman of St. Lubin's suite was sent to convey the news of the Alliance to France.[3] Mr. Belcombe, the Governor of Pondichery set off to visit Mahe with a hundred Europeans soldiers as a symbol of French power and vitality.[4] Thus the French in India seemed to be activised like waspes hit in their hives.

Warren Hastings took note of the gathering crisis in his Minute of Jan, 26, 1778, and tried to counteract the prejudicial effects of the French movements in India. He re-enforced the Bombay Govt. with new forces and enlarged the garrison at Calcutta.[5] He took precipitate measures when he came to know of the actual declaration of war by the French, on July 7th, from Beldwin at Cairo.[6] On the same day he wrote to the Governor of Fort St. George to prepare for the immediate attack of Pondichery and ordered Lt. Colonel Dow to capture Chandarnagore which he did on July, 10th.[7] The Governor of Pondichery M. Chevalier fled away only to be caught later on by Elliott at Cuttack, While Pondichery was reduced by October, 1778.[8] Besides, he secured the neutrality of Hughli and Danes of Serampore.[9] He sanctioned another march over Poona in support of Raghoba thus scrapping the treaty of Purandar of March, 1776, and sent Elliott on a mission to propose an alliance with Moodajee of Berar.[10] Thus Warren Hastings tried to block all the French manoeuvers in all directions.

Yet the crisis gained momentum & the defeat at the hands of Maratha brought the treaty of Aragaon in Jan, 1, 1779.[11] The mission of Elliot was delayed and Moodajee began to flirt with a new anti-British intrigue[12] The English further helped to swell the rank of the enemies by their own actions, as they tried to spurn the French from the lands of the native sovereigns.[13] Thus they offended the Nizam by expelling the French from the Guntoor Cirkar and by occupying the latter after concluding a separte treaty with the Basalatjung, his brother, and the ruling vasal of the Cir-

1. Ibid p. 603
2. Ibid p. 592
3. Gleig—Memoirs of Warren Hastings, vol. II, p. 214
4. Ibid—p. 216
5. Secret Consultations, 9th July, 1778, No. 8
6. Ibid 11th, July, 1778
7. Ibid—Quoted in Dr. K. K. Datta's "Dutch in Bengal and Bihar" p. 103
8. Gleig—Memoirs of Warren Hastings vol. II, p. 311
9. (12) Ibid
10. Gleig.—Memoirs of Warren Hastings vol. II, p. 200
11. Modern Indian History Sarkar & Datta vol. II, p. 113.
12. (15) Ibid
13. Gleig—Memoirs of Warren Hastings vol. II, p. 283.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

car.[1] Basalatjung ruled the Circar as a varsal of Nizam Ali by the treaty of 1768. Though the Nizam took the French officers under this service so that they may not go to Hyder Ali, yet the occupation of the Circar by Genral Harpur in April, 1779 and the conclusion of a treaty with his vassal without his knowledge, offended him and he made no secret of his anti-British plans. He became the author of a confederacy directed against English and composed of such powerful states as Marathas, Mysore, Berar and the French.[2] Hyder had recently became a sworn enemy of the English as they had captured the French port Mahe on the Malawar coast, which was a useful channel of intercourse with the French.[3] He patched up his differences with Marathas and Nizam and became an active member of the confederacy. By 1780, the English star in India was thus at its lowest ebb. Hyder was carrying fire and sword in the entire Carnatic while Holkar and Scindia were arrayed against the army of Goddard.[4] Besides the united Netherlands had declared war on England and the Dutch in India too joined the party of France.[5]

But redoubtable Warren Hastings successfully weathered the storm. The confederacy soon fell to pieces. Capture of Gwalior by Popham[6] and the defeat of Scindia at Sipri brought him to terms on October, 13,1781, and he became a mediator between the English and Marathas, which brought the peace of Salbai on May, 17, 1782.[7] Nizam was satisfied with the return of Guntoor;[8] Moodajee of Berar was similarly bought away; now only Hyder Ali and the French remained invetrate foes of the English. Hyder defeated Colonel Ballie and occupied Arcot in October, 1780. He had prepared a navy too which was to be assisted by the French navy.[9] The French brought ammunition to Hyder from Bourbon Islands. The French navy from the Bourbon Islands appeared at the Corromandee coast in 1781, but it retired to Bourbon and left Hyder Ali in the lurch at Porto Novo.[10] (July 1781) But soon Hyder was reenforced by the French. In the beginning of 1782, Admiral Suffrain, one of the best Admirals in French annals announced his arrival by capturing English grain-vessels bound for Madras.[11] Though all the coast-settlements had been occupied by the English; yet Suffrain had superiority of

1. Ibid
2. Ibid
3. Lyall—p 194
4. Ibid p. 195
5. Quoted in Dr. K. K. Datta's "The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar" p. 171
6. Gleig—Memoirs of Warren Hastings vol. II, p. 311
7. Aitchison treaties, IV, 41
8. Lyall, p. 198
9. Ibid
10. Ibid
11. Cambridge History of India, vol. V, p. 285

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

arms and he was able to land two thousand soldiers under Dw Chemin in February, 1782,[1] with the help of which Tipu worsted Braithwaite at Tanjore. Later, he snatched Trincomalli from the English, which the latter had taken from the Dutch.[2] He fought five duels on the Indian sea-board and though the British Admiral Sir Arthur Hughes endured all this yet at last he was completely worsted so much so that he had to retire in Madras in 1783.[3]

In the land, the attempt of Sir Eyre Coote to capture Hyder's establishments at Arnee was foiled by the joint effort of Tipu and M. Lally on June, 2, 1782.[4] The French built strong camp at Collinoor and waited for the arrival of Bussy, who was put in charge of India by the French govt. at a very late age in 1783. He landed with 10,000 men and settled at Cuddalore. He was attacked by Stuart in vain while his attack too was repulsed.[5] The English-seemed to be standing on the edge of sword at this period. Admiral Hugher had retired and their was none to cover the British troops against the French grinding stones of Suffrain and Bussy.[6] But the star was in favour of Britain and on July 23rd, Benefield heard from a special messenger that France and England had signed the preliminaries of peace. This was communicated to Bussy and Bussy immediately ceased hostilities thus removing the sword pointed at the neck of the English.[7] Soon Suffrain sailed for Europe and Tipu was left to carry on the fire ignited by the French and had at last to come reluctantly to peace later on. The French were returned their possessions lost in the war, but their prestige and stinging terror had flagged and they had given the British empire in India, a Homoeopathic treatment and their new bid proved to be a milestone in the growth of British power in India.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1. Lyall—p. 198
2. Quoted in Dr. K. K. Datta's "The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar" p. 136
3. Cambridge History of India vol. V p. 287
4. Modern History by Sarkar & Datta, vol. II, P. 115
5. (32) Ibid
6. Ibid
7. Ibid

ABBE J. A. DUBOIS ON INDIA AND HER PEOPLE
(References to the Telugu people)

SHRI Y. VITTAL RAO

Abbe J. A. Dubois the French Missionary by his work on Hindu institutions and ceremonies of the people of India contributed greatly to the sources of Indian History. He belonged to the 18th century. He acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit and of the customs of the people of India, besides labouring hard at his missionary work. He adopted the life of an Indian sanyasi and spent most of his life in the Deccan and Madras Presidency. His references to the customs and habits of the Telugu people form the subject matter of this paper.

AKBAR SHAH II (1760-1837)

SHRI KRISHAN LAL SACHDEVA

In this paper an endeavour has been made to give a biographical sketch of this forgotten and neglected monarch of the Mughal dynasty. His birth, early life, nomination as heir-apparent, atrocities of Ghulam Kadir, as Pretender in 1788, Sindhia's fruitless attempts to install him instead of Shah Alam, futile attempt to run away from the fort, relation with Zaman Shah, anti-Maratha attitude, correspondence with Holkar, accession, description by various travellers, main causes of Anglo-Mughal conflict, architectural activity during his regime, are some of the noteworthy points of this paper. This very king had sent Raja Ram Mohan Roy to England for the augmentation of his stipend and forcing the East India Company to fulfil its treaty obligations.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN ASSAM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

SHRI K. N. DUTT

The history of the Freedom Movement in Assam can be traced as far back as 1828, only three years after the British annexation of the province. Popular discontent found vent in agrarian revolts, uprisings against enhanced taxation, excise and forest laws etc. of the new regime. There were

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Resistance movements organised by tribal chiefs in the hills as the British penetrated into these regions for extending and safeguarding the frontiers of their possessions in Assam. The representatives of old royal houses and their supporters, disinherited nobles, tribal leaders and leadrs of the people kept the flames of patriotism burning throughout the century till a new turn was given to the struggle for freedom by the Indian National Congress.

THE FRENCH FACTORY AT SURAT, 1765-1794

Dr. S. P. Sen

This paper gives a brief account of the condition of the French Factory at Surat from the re-establishment of the French in India after the Seven Years War to the outbreak of the last Anglo-French conflict in India in 1793. The account is based on some documents preserved in the Pondicherry Archives,—a *memoire* dated 1767 by Law de Lauriston, Governor of Pondicherry, and some letters of two French Consuls at Surat (who also functioned as Chief of the Factory there), de Briancourt and de Bruix. Of particular importance is a *memoire* of de Bruix, giving a detailed history of the French Factory at Surat since its establishment by Caron in 1668.

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FROM 1813 TO 1836

Shrimati Arati Das Gupta

This paper deals with the wavering educational policy of the Government of India from 1813 to 1835. The year 1835 is a landmark in the history of the spread of English education, for by that time the Government of India had definitely decided to spend money exclusively for spread of Western learning. This changeover from encouragement of Indian classical was due not merely to the eagerness of Indian students to take to western learning, the efforts of some notable Indian personalities like Raja Ram Mohan Ray and the historic Minute of Macaulay. It was also largely due to the changed attitude of the foreign rulers to the people of India, their past traditions, literature, philosophy etc., brought about the expansion and consolidation of British rule in this country.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

AUSTRO-GERMAN EAST INDIA COMPANY

SEVERINE SILVA

Much material is available in India about the enterprises of foreigners especially Europeans. But in this vast mass of records, the attempts of the Austro-Germans are possibly completely lost sight of. A study of this subject has possibly not yet been attempted. The material available is also very little. But from what is available both in Europe and in India some attempt has been made here to knit together the whole into a small story. Empress Maria Theresa encouraged her subjects to have commercial dealings with India and America. In the Eastern venture one William Bolts took a prominent part. The enterprise known as "Trieste East India Company" commenced possibly in 1775 and set up some settlements. The only one that is possibly known to have been set up on the coast of India was at Karwar. One other was on the Nicobar Islands and the last one was on the coast of Africa. But the efforts of this company could not continue long. The Karwar office was closed in 1789.

LOCAL DISTURBANCES IN THE EARLY PERIOD OF BRITISH RULE IN BENGAL AND BEHAR

DR. S. B. CHAUDHURI

These disturbances are attributed to the general insecurity of property in consequence of the British revenue arrangements which drove the upper classes to disaffection and the lower to desperation.

Popular discontent visibly manifested itself in the neighbouring areas of Midnapore, Mayurbhanja, Ramgarh, Chota Nagpur etc. In Behar the zemindars fought with the Company's forces and in the Doab the Second Maratha war started a chain of local commotions.

DURGABAI BHOSALE OF SAVANTWADI

SHRI S. N. JOSHI

After the death of her husband, Khem Savant II, and of his elder wife, Lakshmibai, Durgabai managed very ably the affairs of the State. No papers relating to her administration are available except in the Imperial Records Office at Delhi, where, much of her correspondence is to be found. This paper is based on that, hitherto, unpublished, material. Durgabai had to deal with her neighbour the Kolhapur Raja, with the English at Sindhu-durg whose superiors at Bombay intervened on behalf of that Raja, and with the Portuguese of Goa. This paper shows her fearless spirit, as revealed in her correspondence. Attention is also drawn to the way she personally administered justice, and to other aspects of her administration.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

WAS THERE MONETARY GAIN IN SADASHIV RAO BHAU'S FIRST EXPEDITION ?

SHRI V. G. KHOBREKAR

This paper has been based on an important document called Peshwas' Rozkird preserved in the Alienation Office, Poona. This document reveals the day-to-day accounts of Sadashivrao Bhau's dealings in the Karnatak. Peshwas Balaji Bajirao obtained the Karnatak Mamala for himself and appointed his young cousin named Sadashivrao Bhau to lead the "Mulukhgiri" expedition into the Karnatak. Bhau went to Bednur, Sondha and Savanur and obtained immense wealth from those chiefs by establishing the Maratha sway there. From the debit and credit sides of this document it is pointed out how the gains made compared with the expenses of the expedition.

INDIGO PLANTATION IN BENGAL—ITS SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EFFECTS

SHRI AMALENDU DE

The paper deals with the social, economic and political effects of the Indigo Plantation in Bengal. The materials are collected from contemporary Bengali literature, British Parliamentary Papers and Board of Trade Papers. By the middle of the 19th century the tyranny of the Planters reached its peak. Popular upsurge broke out in different parts of Bengal in 1859-60. This was the first general strike in the history of the Indian peasantry. The educated Bengal stood up against the oppression by the planters and gave active support to the indigo cultivators. The link between the peasantry and the middle class contributed much towards the growth of national consciousness in Bengal.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SECTION VI
(LOCAL)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A NOTE ON THE SOURCES OF GUJARAT HISTORY

SHRI Z. A. DESAI

It has been rightly said that 'it was not merely the military conquests of the Sultans of Gujarat that have made their rule of about two centuries a brilliant chapter in the history of India, but it was their great achievement as builders, bibliophiles and patrons of art and letters that gave them a place of honour and distinction amongst Indian rulers and spread their fame to Hijaz, Yaman and other Muslim countries. In the words of Hakim Abdul Hayye Delhi cannot claim that amount of patronage which the Sultan of Gujarat extended to arts and learning during thier rule.' Learned sarvants from different parts of Islamic countries travelled to and settled in Gujarat. Some of the ministers of the Gujarat Sultans were themselves men of deep learning and liberal patrons of letters. Khudawand Khan Al-Iji was well-versed in the science of Tradition; Ikhtiyar Khan belonging to a qazi family of Nadiad, attained high eminence in intellectual and traditional sciences. He was well versed in mathematics, astronomy, poetry, enigma, logic and philosophy. His son Daud Khan was highly advanced in the art of music. Abdu'l Aziz Asaf Khan outshone other ministers not only in statesmanship but also in scholarship. The nobility of Gujarat likewise did not lag behind in their patronage of art and letters; among these Chengiz Khan, Sherwan Khan, Sidi Said, Sandal Ghalib Khan and Khudawand Khan stand out pre-eminent. Some of these, in their turn, like Sidi Said were great scholars and learned men; their assemblies were adorned by the Arab chiefs and learned men from Yaman. The court of Khudawand Khan at Surat, to quote Haji Dabir, was thronged by scholars from Yaman and other countries.

It is not at all surprising if the history of such an illustrious dynasty was commemorated in the pages of a series of historical works written by different authors at different periods. No provincial kingdom of medieval India can boast of such a number of historical works. It is however a great pity that most of these works have not survived the ravages of time. Among these historical works are those that were written by contemporary writers whose main concern was to deal with the events of or up to their patron's reigns and those works that were written to cover the whole period till their composition. Some works of the first group are the object of this paper. The historical works of Gujarat with which we are more familiar may be enumerated as under:-

1. Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi dealing with Muzaffar I
2. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi in verse by Hulvi Shirazi written during Ahmad I's time.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

3. Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi
4. Tabaqat-i-Mahmud Shahi
5. Maathir-i-Mahmud Shahi } during Mahmud I's period.
6. Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi giving an account of only one event of Muzaffar II's reign.
7. Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi also called Tubaqat-i-Husain Khani in Bahadur's time.
8. Tuhfatus Sadat of Aram Kashmiri.
9. Mirat-i-Sikandari by Sikandar bin Manjhu.
10. Tarikh-i-Gujarat by Abu Turah Wali.
11. Mirat-i-Ahmadi in Persian and
12. Zafarul Walih in Arabic.

Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi, Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi another Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi and of the above printed edition of Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi are mentioned in the preface of the Mirat-i-Sikandari the most comprehensive history of Gujarat written in Gujarat. However Dr. Chaghtai in his article on A 'Manuscript of Mirat-i-Sikandari',[1] states that the oldest manuscript of the Mirat gives only the name of three instead of five works, omitting both the Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahis. It is worth noting that of these last two, the later Tarikh-i-Mizaffar Shahi has come down to us and is now available in two editions. Therefore we have to find out whether it was utilised by the author of the Mirat-i-Sikandari as the printed edition states or not as the article of Dr. Chaghtai tends to suggest. The problem would have been clarified, had Dr. Chaghtai recorded the readings of the sources on page 147 and 149 of the printed edition which has Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi in both these places. Lutfullah Faridi in his translation reads Muzaffar Shahi instead of Bahadur Shahi on p. 149 on what grounds we do not know, while Bayley omits the passages in both the places bearing the names of the source altogether. We cannot say with certainty whether the printed edition of the Mirat is correct. But it would not be surprising if the older manuscripts of the book read Muzaffar Shahi in both the places. Our conjecture is corroborated by the fact that the account of the Mirat regarding Muzaffar II's expedition to Malwa as said to have been reproduced from Bahadur Shahi and the same as given in the printed editions of Muzaffar Shahi agree not only in main details of the expedition and their chronology but in many places, the expressions are *verbatim* which clearly shows that the author of the Mirat had definitely consulted what is known today to us the as Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi. In that case, the mention of the Muzaffar Shahi in the sources of Gujarat history as enumerated in the preface of the Mirat's printed edition cannot be taken as an interpolation despite its ommission in old manuscripts. It may however be argued that

1. B.D.C.R.I. IV. No. 2.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Bahadur Shahi may have benefited from this source and the Mirat might have reproduced the account from the Bahadur Shahi as the printed edition says. But this argument is not as so weighty as it would seem first. For, we know that the author of the Bahadur Shahi was present in the army that led the first expedition to Malwa in 920 A. H. prior to its subjugation by Muzaffar II in 923-24 A. H. [1] It is very likely that he was present in the second invasion also, as he was in regular service and hence he had not need to refer to Muzaffar Shahi at all. An alternative conjecture may be ventured that the Muzaffar Shahi which as it has come down to us is only a narration of a single event in Muzaffar II's reign and which was written only as a first attempt by its author to display his skill at prose, may have been the work of the author of Bahadur Shahi himself, who, when he later on conceived the idea of writing a book on general history of India and Gujarat, incorporated this account into the book. The Mirat's printed edition quoting Bahadur Shahi would make this conjecture a fact if only we were certain that the readings of the printed edition are correct in these two places. Another point in support of this conjecture is that the style of the Muzaffar Shahi is practically the same as the style which the Mirat-i Sikandari assigns to the Bahadur Shahi.

As far as the historical works of the reign of Mahmud I are concerned, three in all are mentioned by different writers of these. The Mirat mentions only the Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi, while others mention Tabaqat-i-Mahmud Shahi and the Maathir-i-Mahmud Shahi. A great confusion prevails as regards the authors of these works and their titles. Rieu describes the Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi as being the history of Gujarat from its origin to the reign of Mahmud I (863-91). He also believes as probable that it is identically with a history of Gujarat entitled Maathir-i-Mahmud Shahi also called Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi the author of which Mulla Abdul Kalim Hamadani had long been attached to Khwaja Mahmud Gawan the celebrated minister of Mahmud Shah Bahmani. It is just possible that the Maathir-i-Mahmud Shahi may have been a history of Mahmud Shah Bahmani and not Mahmud Shah of Gujarat. Now in Peshawar another manuscript of Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi is said to exist, the list of whose contents reveal the encyclopaedic nature of this work. It is said to have been a general history of the world and only about 80 pages have been devoted to the history of India and has been composed by Faidullah Bimbani in the year 907 A. H. at Bidar where he had been sent as an ambassador by Mahmud Begda. It is doubtful if this work is identical with the one with the same name described by Rieu. This confusion becomes all the more worse when we find the mention of two separate works to wit, Tabaqat-i-Mahmud Shahi and Maathir-i-Mahmud Shahi both of which have been uti-

1. M.S. 144, 155.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

lised by Nizamu'd-Din Ahmad in his Tabaqat. A work entitled Tabaqat-i-Mahmud Shahi is said to have been composed by Abdul Kalim bin Ataullah who came from Shiraz to Ahmadabad during the rule of Mahmud I and recorded the events of Mahmud's reign upto 915 A. H. according to the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar.[1] The same author speaks of a Maathir-i-Mahmud Shahi composed by Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad Zirak who also came from Shiraz.[2] In this context it may also be pointed out that the Gulzar-i-Abrar speaks of the Tabaqat-i-Mahmud Shahi of Abdul Kalim as a general history from Adam to Mahmud I as is the case of Peshawar manuscript of the Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi where however the author is Faidullah Bimbani and the events are not carried beyond 907 A. H. In view of these conflicting informations, it would be futile to determine the exact numbers of books written in Mahmud I's time but it is certain that more than one Mahmud Shahi were written.

Among the works whose authorship, composition and period of composition have been accepted beyond doubt is the Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi in verse by Hulvi Shirazi. As many as one hundred verses from different portions of the book have been quoted in the Mirat-i-Sikandari who evidently possessed a copy of the same, or less probably, had copied them from some other source. But it is not at all correct to say, unless a substantial proof is brought forward that the copies of the Ahmad Shahi were extant until when the Mirat-i-Ahmad Shahi was written and that the author of the latter work possessed a copy of it. To assert this only on the basis of Mirat-i-Ahmadi quoting verses from it is neither conclusive nor convincing for it is more than probable that the author of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi had no copy of the same before him. We have only to compare the quotations from the Ahmad Shahi in the Mirat-i-Sikandari and the Mirat-i-Ahmadi to be convinced about the unsoundness of this statement. For, the verses quoted in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi are all to be found in the Mirat-i-Sikandari which may be construed to mean that the author of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi is also copying them from the Mirat-i-Sikandari. Another point with regard to Ahmad Shahi of Hulvi, has escaped the notice of the scholars like Sir Dennison Ross, Prof. Commisrariat and others who have referred to it. It is generally believed on the basis of the Mirat-i-Sikandari's statement that Ahmad Shahi is the history of Ahmad Shah I's reign. Now, the Mirat-i-Sikandari while speaking of Mahmud Begda's conquest of Gujarat quotes Hulvi's account, which seems rather an anachronism unless it be that the verses which originally were intended by Hulvi to describe Ahmad I's expedition to Girnar are quoted by the author of the Mirat in connection with Mahmud Begda's. And this appears to be a plausi-

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, Urdu Translation, p. 237.
2. Ibid, 213.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ble explanation which may also account for the reproduction of other verses bearing upon the march to Girnar in the Mirat-i-Sikandari, p. 89, where they are said to be a poet but which are probably by Hulvi. But then, how can we account for Mirat's quoting the Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi (the name of whose author has not been given) for the account of Muhammad Shah II, son of Ahmad Shah. It may be that the printed edition of the Mirat is corrupt in its reading in this place; it may also be that another Ahmad Shahi, written during the reign of Ahmad II, may be intended, though for this conjecture we have absolutely no other basis; on the contrary, the Mirat's preface does not mention another Ahmad Shahi at all. If the reading of the printed edition in this place is found correct it would mean that yet another historical work was composed during the reign of Qutbu'd-Din Ahmad II.

Another work supposed to be an important source of the history of Mahmud III's reign is Tuhfatus Sadat by Aram Kashmiri, which also unfortunately has not survived to us. Both Sir D. Ross and Prof. Commisrariat have emphasised the importance of this work which is said to have been utilised by Haji Dabir and Sikandar bin Manjhu. However, its importance as a work on Gujarat history or even as a source of the contemporary ruler Mahmud III should not be accepted without any reserve, on the contrary it is open to question and doubt. It is generally believed that Haji Dabir had a copy of this book which he quotes on pages 113, 192, 320-332 of his history.

Now the alleged quotation from the Tuhfatus Sadat covers the same ground and gives the same details as the supposed quotation of Tuhfatus Sadat in the Mirat-i-Sikandari. That the Mirat has quoted it from the Tuhfatus Sadat has been accepted so far by all concerned but the following statement of the Mirat-i-Sikandari itself which comes after the alleged quotation explodes the myth.

The lines clearly show that the author of the Mirat-i-Sikandari emphatically asserts that his account of Mahmud III's reign extending from p. 265 to p. 292 is not from the Tuhfatus Sadat, he clearly state that the author of the Tuhfatu's Sadat has disposed off these events in a passing reference comprising a couple of sentences only. This only means that the quotation in the Arabic History supposed to have come from Tuhfatus-Sadat has only come from the Mirat-i-Sikandari.

What had probably happened was that the first part of the sentence of the Mirat-i-Sikandari's emphatic statement led Haji Dabir who was copying from the Mirat into an error to believe that the whole narration in the Mirat preceding to this is from the Tuhfatus Sadat. In short, the account of Mahmud III's reign which Haji Dabir is supposed to have borrowed from Tuhfatus Sadat comes from the Mirat-i-Sikandari only.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I may state in the end that I have based all my observations and contentions on the printed edition of the Mirat-i-Sikandari which, in my opinion, cannot be considered as a critical edition. It is a pity that such a foremost source of Gujarat history should have remained unedited and therefore I would take the opportunity of requesting the institutions carrying on research in Gujarat history to pay their delayed attention to it and arrange for a critical edition of the same. At the same time I would also request them to have authentic copies of all the works bearing upon the history of Gujarat lying scattered over the various libraries of the work and consult them before the work of writing of a history of medieval Gujarat is undertaken.

AN UNPUBLISHED GUJARATI DOCUMENT OF VIKRAMA SAMVAT 1848

DR. M. R. MAJUMDAR

An agreement between the Mahajans of the city and butchers about non-slaughter of living animals on certain days.

RELATION OF MAUKAN, FOUNDER OF THE KADAMBA KINGDOM WITH GUJARAT

SHRI K. B. DAVE

The writer tries to show from the Skanda Purana and other sources that the founder of the Kadamba state in the Konkan hailed from north Gujarat and that he was a Nagar Brahmin.

A FEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS AROUND VALAM IN THE VISNAGAR TALUK, MEHSANA DISTRICT

SHRI R. N. MEHTA

A few sites ranging from the Microlithic Period to the Mediaeval Period were recovered in a small exploration in and around Valam. The microliths recovered in this survey were of the same type as those found in the other parts of North Gujarat, while the early Historic and Mediaeval sites suggest the cultures similar to those found at Baroda and Vadnagar.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

GANGADASAPRATAPAVILASA BY GANGADHARA

Dr. B. J. Sandesara

The paper attempts a historical and critical analysis and also a literary evaluation of the *Gangādāsapratāpavilāsa*, a historical Sanskrit play of nine acts by the poet Gangadhara, depicting the strife between Sultan Muhammad II of Ahmedabad and king Gangadasa of Champaner, a famous hill-fort in the Panchamahal district. The play was composed about the year 1449 A.D., was acted in the assembly-hall of the shrine of the goddess Mahakali, the presiding deity of the fort, to commemorate the victory of Gangadasa. The author of the play, Gangadhara, was originally a poet from Vijyanagar in South India, had a sojourn at the court of the Sultan Muhammad II at Ahmedabad, and then had settled at Champaner under the patronage of Gangadasa.

The play is unpublished so far. It gives a good picture of cultural life of Hindu Gujarat at a time when the central Moslem power at Ahmedabad was firmly established.

THE DEITY OF SOMANATHA (1026 A. D.)

Dr. M. L. Roy Choudhury

Ordinary people believe that Somanatha was the seat of a Hindu temple and its deity was that of a Hindu god Siva. Al-Beruni was an eye witness to the pillage of the great shrine, where according to him the deity was that of Siva. But in course of his description of the incident, he says that the region of Somanatha attracted pilgrims from Herat, Balkh, Khorasan, Iran, Turkestan, Syria as well as from different parts of India. Here was a fire-temple as big as that in the Naw Bihar of Balkh. Somanatha was a great attraction to the Zoroastrians who worshipped fire. Here at Somanatha gathered the followers of the *Somaniya cult* which according to Al-Beruni, was neither Hindu nor Buddhist, nor Muslim.

Now the question is; what was the deity which Sultan Mahmud actually destroyed ?

THE RISE OF THE RASHTRAKUTA RULE IN GUJARAT

Dr. H. G. Shastri

The earliest expedition of the Rashtrakutas to Gujarat seems to be that of Dantidurga. When he was succeeded by his uncle Krsnarāja (c. (c. 756 A. D.), south Lāta was ruled over by Karkarāja II, the son of Govinda-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

raja. Karkarāja did not acknowledge the suzerainty of Krsnaraja and even assumed the imperial titles Paramabhattāraka, Māharājadhirāja and Parameśvara. He issued a grant of land in Saka year 679 (757-58 A.D.). The recent discovery of the Hill grant sheds new light on the extension of his power. It was issued by Mahāsāmanta Chandrāditya who governed Harsapura Visaya which belonged to the kingdom of Sri Karka styled Mahāsāmantadhipati, Paramarājadhirāja, Parameśvara. The grant is dated year 470, which obviously applies to the Valabhi Era. Sri Karka mentioned in this grant (788-89 A. D.) may evidently be identified with above mentioned Karkarāja II. He seems to have extended his sway over North Gujarat and justified his imperial titles by becoming the overlord of Mahāsāmantas like Chandraditya. He now shifted his capital to Khetaka (in Middle Gujarat) which is represented as his head quarters in the Hilol grant. The grant of S.E. 679 (757-58 A.D.) then marks an early year of his reign, which is thus known to have extended at least up to Val. E. 470 (788-89 A.D.). It implies to date the upper limit of his reign shortly before 757 A.D.

As Dantidurga had already conquered Lata before 750 A.D., the rise of the Rashtrakuta rule in South Gujarat then seems to have taken place in the time of Govindraja, the father of Karkaraja II, whose grant actually represents the former as a 'King' (Ksitisa). It is also probable that the scion who made an unsuccessful attempt to secure the heritage of Dantidurga may have been this Govindarāja or his son Karkarāja II. In that case the latter seems to have retained his sway over south Lata without acknowledging the suzerainty of Krsnarāja and his successors. The history of this early Rashtrakuta power in Gujarat cannot be traced beyond 738-89 A.D. It was definitely uprooted during or before the reign of Govindarāja III, who handed over Lāta to his younger brother Indrarāja in c. 800 A. D. and put it under the supremacy of the main line.

A NOTE ON COPPER PLATES OF BHIMDEVA I

SHRI J. M. NANAVATI

These Plates which are in excellant state of preservation were received from Paliad near Botad in Gohilwad District of Saurashtra. They consist of two thick plates joined together by a ring of $1\frac{3}{4}$" diameter (inside) passed through a hole in the middle of the edge of the longer side. Only the inner sides of the plates is inscribed. There are in all 18 lines in bold execution. Plates are measured 9"×$5\frac{1}{2}$"×$\frac{1}{8}$". They weigh $132\frac{1}{2}$ Tolas or $3\frac{1}{4}$ seers.

The script is Devanagari and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription records the grant of land and refers to the reign of Maharajadhiraja

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Bhimdeva I of Chaulukyan Dynasty of Gujarat. The boundaries of the land are mentioned. The date of the grant is fifteenth of the bright half of Chaitra in the Vikrama Year 1112. The grant was made by Bhimadeva.

The writer of the grant was Vatesvara, the son of the Kayastha Kanchana. The Dutaka (Messenger) was the famous Bhogaditya, the minister of "Peace and War".

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE REGISTRATION DEPARTMENTS DURING MUSLIM RULE, IN GUJARAT

Qazi S. N. Husain

This paper is written with a view to show how the administration of the Registration Department was conducted, who were officers, what fee was charged on the documents, how many kinds of documents were produced and how they were registered and how they were written etc.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

APPENDIX A

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress Association was held at Ahmedabad on Monday, the 27th December, 1954 at 6 P. M.

The following members were present:

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, President, took the chair.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti.
Sri A. Ghosh.
Dr. J. N. Banerjee.
Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
Sri P. M. Joshi.
Dr. K. K. Datta.
Dr. S. Sen.
Shri S. K. Saraswati.
Dr. R. R. Sethi.
Dr. M. Rama Rao.
Dr. A. C. Banerjee. (Treasurer)
Sri. A. D. Pusalkar.
Prof. V. G. Hatalkar.
Dr. P. C. Gupta. (Secretary)
Prof. D. V. Potdar.

Mahamahopadhyay P. V. Kane was present by special invitation.

1. The Secretary read out the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee held at Waltair on the 27th December, 1953.

Resolved that the minutes be confirmed.

2. The Secretary presented the Annual Report of the Indian History Congress Association for 1954.

Resolved that the Report be recommended for adoption at the Annual Business Meeting.

3. The Secretary, History of India Publication Committee, presented the Annual Report of the Committee for 1954.

Resolved that the Report be recommended for adoption at the Annual Business Meeting.

Resolved further that the publication of Vol. II be expedited.

4. The Secretary, History of India Publication Committee, presented a statement of accounts of the History of India Publication Committee.

Resolved that the statement be recommended for adoption at the Annual Business Meeting.

5. The Treasurer presented the statement of accounts of the Indian

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

History Congress Association for the year 1953.

Resolved that the statement be recommended for adoption at the Annual Business Meeting.

6. The Treasurer presented the Budget estimates of the Indian History Congress Association for the year 1955.

Resolved that the statement be recommended for adoption at the Annual Business Meeting.

7. The Executive Committee elected the following Office bearers for the year 1955:

President — Dr. N. P. Chakravarti.
Vice President — Mahamohopadhyay Dr. P. V. Kane.
Dr. S. N. Sen.
Secretary — Dr. K. K. Datta.
Jt. Secretary — Dr. R. R. Sethi.
Treasurer — Dr. B. P. Sinha.

8. The Executive Committee elected the following as General President and Sectional Presidents for the 1955 Session of the Congress.

General President — Sardar K. M. Panikkar.
President Section I — Dr. H. D. Sankalia (Poona)
" " II — Dr. R. B. Pandey (Banaras)
" " III — Sri V. S. Bendrey (Poona)
" " IV — Dr. J. N. Sarkar (Ranchi)
" " V — Prof. R. V. Oturkar (Poona)

9. The Executive Committee appointed Messrs Pal Ray & Co, Chartered Accountants, 2 Church Lane, Calcutta, as Auditors of the Association for 1954.

10. The Executive Committee considered the following resolutions:

(i) *Dr. P. Saran.*

(a) Resolved that no member of the Indian History Congress will continue to be a member of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for more than three consecutive years.

(b) That after serving on the Executive Committee for three consecutive years every member will stand out for a period of at least two years before he may seek re-election.

(c) That this rule will apply without execption to members as well as Office Bearers of the Indian History Congress and the Executive Committee thereof.

(d) Provided that such members of the Executive Committee who may have been members for three years but have not held any office, would be eligible for election as office bearers.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Resolved that in view of the changes already made in the constitution at the Waltair (1953) Session of the Indian History Congress, the resolutions be recorded.

(ii) *Sri D. B. Dishakar*

The present divisions of the Indian History into five Sections being found inequitable and unsatisfactory the following sections should be adopted by the Indian History Congress. The separate section of Local History which can be included in one of the sections may be dropped.

Section	I	Pre-history and Proto history from		to 600 B. C.
,,	II	Ancient History from	600 B. C. to	300 A. D.
,,	III	Do ,,	300 A. D. to	900 A. D.
,,	IV	Do ,,	900 A. D. to	1300 A. D.
,,	V	Medieval History ,,	1300 A. D. to	1526 A. D.
,,	VI	Do	1526 A. D. to	1707 A. D.
,,	VII	Modern History	1707 A. D. to	1818 A. D.
,,	VIII	Do	1818 A. D. to	1948 A. D.

Resolved that in view of the decision made at the meeting of the Executive Committee at Waltair (1953) and now pending for the approval of the Association, the resolution be recorded.

11. The Executive Committee considered the invitation of University of Calcutta for holding its 18th session at Calcutta in December 1955.

Resolved that the invitation be accepted with thanks.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair and to the outgoing Secretary, Joint Secretary and Treasurer.

Chairman Secretary.

APPENDIX B

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The Annual Business Meeting of the History Congress Association was held on 30th December, 1954, at 11 A.M. 29th, December, Ahmadaba l Dr. N. P. Chakravarti presided.

Members Present.

Shri Jagannath.
,, S. C. Nandy.
Sm. Ratna Nandy.
Shri B. P. Mukherjee.
Shri J. M. Unvala.
,, Subhedar Vasudeorai.
,, N. L. Ahmad.
,, G. S. Diksit.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Shri B. K. Majumdar.
„ Krishun Lal.
„ Hedayet Ali.
„ A. R. Baji.
„ P. Sree Rama
„ S. N. Das Gupta.
„ A. C. Sen.
„ S. B. Chaudhury.
„ G. S. Das.
„ D. G. Mahajan.
„ Badjati.
„ R. R. Sethi.
„ M. Rama Rao.
„ K. K. Datta.
„ B. P. Sinha.
„ M. S. Agaskar.
„ Ershad Ali.
„ L. R. Pendharkar.
„ B. N. Phatak.
„ Gopi Chand Verma.
„ K. L. Srivastava.
„ R. K. Choudhury.
„ P. C. Majumdar.
„ Bijoy Mallik.
„ S. S. Patwardhan.

Shri A. S. Altekar.
„ G. P. Sarkar.
„ S. N. Sen.
„ Raghubir Singh.
„ P. M. Joshi.
„ K. Sajan Lal.
„ D. C. Sirkar.
„ H. L. Gupta.
„ H. D. Velankar.
„ A. D. Pusalkar.
„ V. S. Suri.
„ San Karananda.
„ K. Ganguli.
„ Bisheshwar Prasad.
„ R. M. Sinha.
„ M. M. Nagar.
„ G. C. Roy Chaudhury.
„ Sukumar Roy.
„ S. R. Das.
„ P. C. Sen.
„ S. Das.
„ Santi Das.
„ J. N. Banerjee.
„ Dilip Kumar Biswas.

1. A condolence resolution on the sad death of Mr. Gyani was moved from the chair and passed all standing.
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. The Secretary placed the Annual Report for the year 1954.
   Resolved that the report be accepted.
4. The Treasurer submitted a report on the account of the year 1953.
   Resolved that the Report be accepted.
5. The Treasurer presented the Budget Estimate for the year 1955.
   Resolved that the Budget Estimate be adopted.
6. The Secretary, History of India Publication Committee, presented a report of work of the Committee.
   Resolved that the report be accepted.
7. The Secretary, History of India Publication Committee, presented the Budget Estimates of the History of India Publication Committee for 1955.
   Resolved that the Budget Estimate be adopted.
8. The President reported the election of Office-bearers for 1955 and the President and Sectional Presidents for the 18th Session:-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a) *Office-bearers*:———

President:	—Dr. N. P. Chakravarti.
Vice-Presidents:	—Dr. P. V. Kane.
	Dr. S. N. Sen.
Secretary	—Dr. K. K. Datta
Jt. Secretary	—Dr. R. R. Sethi
Treasurer	—Dr. B. P. Sinha.

(b) President and Sectional Presidents for the 18th Sesisons.

President: —Sardar K. M. Panikkar.

Section 1 Dr. H. D. Sankalia.
„ 2. Dr. Rajabali Pande.
3. Dr. Bendrey.
4. Dr. J. N. Sankar.
5. Prof. R. V. Oturkar.

Resolved that the election be recorded.

9. The Indian History Congress Association elected the following Executive Committee for 1955.
   1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
   2. Dr. P. C. Gupta.
   3. Dr. A. C. Banerjee.
   4. Dr. J. N. Banerjee.
   5. Dr. S. P. Sen.
   6. Dr. A. Ghosh.
   7. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar.
   8. Shri S. K. Saraswati.
   9. Prof. A. S. Altekar.
   10. Dr. M. Rama Rao.
   11. Dr. Moti Chandra.
   12. Dr. V. G. Dighe.
   13. Maharajkiumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh.
   14. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar.

10. The President reported that the Executive Committee has recommended for adoption, by the Indian History Congress, the invitation of the Calcutta University to hold the 18th Session of the Congress at Calcutta.

    Resolved that the invitation be accepted with thanks.

11. The Indian History Congress Association cosidered the following amendments to the constitution adopted by the Executive Committee at Waltair and postponed for consideration at the next session.

13. *Add clause 4 A.*

    "Ordinary members shall pay a fee of Rs. 15/- per annum. Member paying Rs. 250/- shall become life members of the Association".

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Resolved that the amendment be accepted in the following form:-
"Ordinary members shall pay a fee of Rs. 15/- per annum. Members paying Rs. 250/- shall become life Members of the Association."

Clause B. "The following sections will be recognised..... .....where necessary" substitute:

The Sections shall be the following:-

(1) Ancient India upto 1200 A. D. for Northern India and 1300 for Southern India.
(2) Medeival Indian History upto 1707 A. D.
(3) Modern Indian History from 1707 onwards
(4) Special section to be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee."

Resolved that the amendment be accepted.

14. The following resolutions moved from the chair were adopted by The Indian History Congress Association:
(a) Resolved that the Government of India be moved to help the preparation of a dictionary of epigraphic terms.
(b) Resolved that the Government of India be moved to have collections of the old India office (now Commonwealth Relation Office) transferred to India.

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair, the Gujrat University, the Gujrat Mahavidyapith and the Reception Committee and the volunteers.

Chairman Secretary

APPENDIX C.
LIST OF MEMBERS: AHMEDABAD SESSION (1954)

PATRON

1. Sri Harekrishna Mahtab, Cuttack.

LIFE MEMBERS

1. Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Vice-Chancellor, Poona University, Poona.
2. Shri Jahangir K. Seervai, Warden Road, Bombay.
3. Prof. A. S. Altekar, Dept. of Ancient Indian History, Patna University, Patna.
4. Sri Manibhai Dwivedi, Research Scholar, Navasari, Western Railway.
5. Thakur Batuk Singh, Deputy Financial Adviser, Military Finance, Central Secretariat, South Block, New Delhi.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

6. Mr. K. M. Ahmed, Curator, Museum, Hyderabad (Deccan).
7. Prof. A. B. Pande, Dept. of History, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.
8. Shri I. B. Patel, Frenny House, Sitla Devi Road, Mahim, Bombay.
9. Dr. H. L. Gupta, History Dept., Saugor University, Saugor (Madhya Pradesh)
10. Sardar Ganda Singh, Director of Archives, Patiala.
11. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau, (Madhya Bharat)
12. Sri M. S. Aney, Lakshmi Niwas, 382, Sadashiv Path, Poona-2.
13. Dr. Nalinaksha Datta, 39, Ramananda Chatterjee Street, Calcutta.
14. Dr. Bool Chand, Secretary, Ministry of Education, Gwalior.
15. Prof. D. V. Potdar, 77 Shanwar Peth, Poona.
16. Dr. S. N. Sen. 6. Ekdalia Place, Calcutta—19.
17. Shri S. M. Shukla, Raval Tiles Factory, Colaba, Bombay—5.
18. Shri Bhabani Charan Roy, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, Orissa.
19. Syed Nurul Hasan, Lecturer in History, Muslim University, Aligarh.
20. Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Tamil Literature Society, 52, New Colony, Tuticorin.
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